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Cairo—Illinois' Southern Exposure

JUNE SHAGALOFF and LESTER P. BAILEY

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
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Facing the Facts On Negro Health

OSCAR R. EWING

In Cloud-Cuckoo Land

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Confederate Flag-Wavers

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■ **How Cairo's Negro citizens broke down segregation in the town's public schools**

Cairo — Illinois' Southern Exposure

By June Shagaloff and Lester P. Bailey

THE Negro parents of Cairo, Illinois, smashed tradition and made history on January 17 when they requested that their children be transferred from the jim-crow schools to the "white" ones nearest their homes.

Very few white Cairoans would have believed, even the day before the first requests for transfers were registered, that any colored parent would have had the gall to disturb the status quo. There had always been jim-crow schools. They were traditional in the town. And Cairo tradition had justified the dual system with the usual clichés of "Negroes are better off to themselves," "No Negroes want to go to school with white children," and the hoary "The time ain't ripe."

Actually state law prohibits segregation, but these sections of the state code have always been conveniently overlooked by local school authorities. Some Negro parents, nevertheless, knew the law. They were dissatisfied with things, and the NAACP, aware of their feelings, set about to organize the fight for integration. Within eleven days following the initial step, the parents of 84 Negro children were known to have placed transfer applications.

It was official white reaction to this move that put Cairo in the hall of infamy along with Columbia, Tenn., Cicero, Ill., and Mims, Fla. One thing was certain, both the whites and Negroes of Illinois' "Little Egypt" had become involved in a community fight which will ultimately change the town's racial patterns and thinking. Both groups were to learn quickly that one of the two basic factors in the support of segregation in Cairo no longer existed — Negro conformity and Uncle Tomism.

Let us examine the political, economic, and social aspects of Cairo to see what makes it tick. These facts

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JUNE SHAGALOFF *and* LESTER P. BAILEY, *NAACP field secretaries, represented the national office in the Cairo fight and were among the people arrested by local police for acts injurious to "public morals."*

will explain how Cairo got to be what it is and why the school fight took the turn that it did.

BACKGROUND FACTS

Cairo is by custom and practice, if not politically, a part of the South; and its citizens regard it as such. It is a community of 12,123 people, of whom nearly half are Negroes, located on a triangular peninsula jutting into the states of Kentucky and Missouri. Democrats are said to be, and are, "as scarce as hen's teeth" in this the seat of rock-ribbed Republican Alexander county. Negro voters still vote largely Republican; yet, despite their party loyalty, they are by-passed when it comes to public jobs, with the exception of a few menial chores.

Most of the few industries permitted to operate are locally owned and exclude Negroes from all but the most menial tasks. Ninety percent of colored workers are employed as domestics or as farm hands. When the cotton is "ripe," local school authorities wink at the truckloads of truant Negro children going off to nearby Missouri cotton fields. Many Negroes are now finding employment as laborers in the construction of the atomic energy plant at Kelvi, Ky., near Paducah. They receive the fabulous wage of $1.50 an hour.

Not only are Cairo Negroes segregated in employment. They are segregated in the Lincoln theater, which features second-rate revivals; excluded from all white-owned restaurants; denied accommodations in the white hotels; and excluded from the town's one swimming pool — built by WPA with federal funds. And only persons of "pure" Caucasian ancestry may receive a card to draw books from the public library.

In Cairo's only hospital, St. Francis, which is operated by the Catholics, Negroes are placed in the least desirable room regardless of ailment. Until recently, Negro men and women were confined in the same "ward." Moreover, Negro nurse aides are not permitted to eat in the hospital cafeteria.

Paradoxically, the Illinois Central Railroad, which is as thoroughly segregative as the town, built its passenger station north of and outside Cairo's town limits in order to avoid paying the extra tax imposed by the dual school system.

Actually, Chief Justice Taney's opinion in the Dred Scott case, that the Negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect, permeates the whole of the community. Cairo is really free of segregation in only two phases of its community life. Three Negro policemen are integrated into the local force, and Negroes find residence in all fifteen of the community's precincts except one. Yet segregation is not wholly absent here, for two public housing projects are operated: one for Negroes, another for whites.

ORIGIN SCHOOL FIGHT

This is Cairo, Illinois, A. D. 1952. These are the sociological factors which combined with Negro yearnings for integration to create the school situation. The genesis of the Cairo school fight really goes back to a 1949 act of the Illinois 66th General Assembly which provided an amendment to put teeth in the state's anti-segregation statutes which date back to 1874. This was an

amendment to the Distributive Fund Appropriation Bill covering state-aid funds to schools. It says that state-aid funds may be withheld from any school district which segregates on a racial basis.

Under the law, local school officials are required to file a sworn statement with the Superintendent of Public Instruction certifying that the public schools are not segregated in order to qualify for state aid funds. It would be impossible, of course, for local school officials to maintain and operate the schools without these state funds. The superintendent of public instruction, Vernon L. Nickell, Illinois' ranking Republican office holder, has thus far taken no responsibility for enforcing the aforementioned Jenkins Amendment, even though his office inspects the schools to determine qualification and knows that falsely sworn statements denying segregation in the schools have been filed with his office by local school officials, not only in Cairo but throughout the state.

In the spring of 1951, a special legislative committee appointed by the Illinois house of representatives subpoenaed the Alexander county superintendent of schools, Mrs. Lucy Twente McPherson, along with the superintendents of 12 other southern Illinois counties where there are segregated public schools. The committee reported unequal, segregated schools in Cairo. In comparing the two segregated high schools, the committee reported that ". . . a comparison of the two schools makes it self-evident that the pattern of segregation prevents equality of equipment, teaching facilities and educational opportunities for colored children."

CAIRO STUDENTS *to be transferred from "Negro" school to "white" junior and senior high school. Though these youngsters live in the all-Negro community of Future City, they are the school district.*

COMMITTEE REPORTS

The committee further reported that in Alexander county, as in other counties, none of the school officials "is doing anything about obeying the law." They referred to a statement made under oath by the acting secretary of the Cairo board of education that the Cairo schools were operated in compliance with the law. They also stated that Leo C. Schultz, superintendent of schools in Cairo, was "the main obstacle to the elimination of segregation."

After the legislative hearings, Mrs. McPherson held up state-aid funds to the Cairo school district for two and one half months, and although several leaders of the Negro community were told that no application for transfer would be refused because

of race, the public was not informed by any Cairo school official of this "new" policy. During this period, it is said that not one Negro parent, whose child lived closer to an all-white school than to an all-Negro school, applied for a transfer. The Cairo district superintendent of schools then claimed that the Cairo schools were not segregated and that the colored people are "satisfied with their schools." As a result, Mrs. McPherson felt she was forced to release the money to the local school district.

Until last February Cairo was the only city of its size in Illinois in which the public schools were segregated from grade one through grade twelve. Three grade schools and a junior and a senior high school are still maintained for Negro pupils only; while four grade schools, a junior, and a senior high school were designated for white only. There are also two segregated Catholic parochial schools.

It was in such a setting and atmosphere that the Cairo NAACP branch decided that it was high time to put an end to segregated schools. The small nucleus of NAACP members requested assistance from the national office in the organization of a membership drive and community support for the integration project. The two field secretaries sent to Cairo were labeled upon arrival as "agitators," "outside influence," etc., by most of the white persons in Cairo, and by a handful of the pro-segregation Negroes.

TRANSFERS REQUESTED

At a meeting of Cairo school officials and representatives of the NAACP on January 15 two days prior to the first transfer applications, the school authorities had stated that any child could attend the school nearest his or her home; that transfers could be processed in one day upon written or oral application by the parents, and that the desired "effective date" for transfer was January 28, the beginning of the second semester. However, when the parents upset the school officials' contention that "Negroes in Cairo do not want to transfer schools" by applying in large numbers for transfers, the procedure and policy laid down at the meeting was changed by the day and hour in an attempt to confuse the applicants.

The "effective date" of the transfers was less than one week off when the Negro principals at the grade, junior, and high schools went to work, as if by order, to discourage and intimidate the parents and children involved. The children were told that if they transferred, the white children would make "fun" of them, would leave them out of all activities, etc. Parents were told that their children would "flunk out" in the new schools; that their youngsters would be attacked by white children; and that there would be job reprisals if they persisted in holding out for transfers. The principal at the all-Negro high school conferred with every student applying for a transfer and told each individually that all other applicants had withdrawn their requests and that he or she was the only one to go to the "white" school. The children checked with the NAACP and learned that all applicants had been

intentionally misinformed. These Uncle Toms, working for the school officials, made transfer procedures as complicated, vague, and contradictory as possible.

LOCAL UNCLE TOM

A local Negro minister, who boasted of having a complete list, supplied by school officials, of all parents applying for transfers, abandoned his regular visits to his church members in order to further the cause of segregation by telling many of the parents that they would lose state child-aid and bank credit privileges if they did not withdraw the requests.

The position, seemingly, taken by school authorities during this and later periods was to state that children might transfer to the school nearest their homes regardless of race or color, but that no Negro children wanted to transfer. Then they proceeded to do all they could to make the parents and the children "voluntarily" withdraw their applications for transfer. Not only did they fail miserably in their attempt to intimidate the parents and children but, if anything, they made them more determined than ever to fight together to end jim-crow public schools.

(An illiterate parent, unable to sign a notarized complaint, taught herself, on two days notice, to write her name and address and then proudly signed retainers for the lawyers.)

The job of community relations and organization kept the NAACP busy, just one jump ahead of the opposition, disseminating counter-propaganda. This was accomplished through close personal contacts with the parents and children, neighborhood meetings, and public mass meetings.

The local newspaper had carried NAACP releases almost verbatim, as long as they concerned only the membership campaign. But as soon as the news broke that Negro parents had applied for transfers for their children to heretofore "white schools," the releases stimulated items in which the NAACP positions became vague, undesirable and antagonistic; or the school officials were given the unchallengeable opportunity to make ambiguous statements on the situation.

CROSS BURNINGS

Meantime, on January 21, local and national NAACP officials met with the City Council, the local state's attorney, the county sheriff, and the local police chief and police magistrate to inform them of the transfers, and to seek public statements reaffirming the constitutional right of Negro children to attend the schools nearest their homes, and official statements that interference with the peaceful carrying out of integration on January 28 would not be tolerated. But NAACP officials met only stony silence from the City Council. The mayor finally agreed to contact NAACP officials later on this matter, but he was never heard from. The local state's attorney said that if he received any valid complaints, he would see that warrants were issued. The police chief and the sheriff agreed verbally to an eight-point program on precautionary measures suggested by the NAACP.

Demonstrations in the form of

cross burnings started Sunday night, January 27, the day before the beginning of the second semester, the "effective date" of the transfers. Between 8:15 and 8:45 P.M. three expertly constructed crosses were lighted at the exact points of transfer concentration.

Even though Negroes live in all but one of Cairo's fifteen precincts, the cross burners, as if using an official list, spotted their flaming warnings on the Mississippi levee behind the all-Negro housing project where the parents of 26 children had applied for transfers to "white" schools; another was located at 25th Street and Commercial Avenue, with 41 requests; and the third hate-beacon was placed on the Ohio River levee opposite Future City, represented by 17 applications. Actually, only two NAACP officials and the local school board possessed the sole lists giving the names and addresses of transfer applicants. In fact, it was only the school board that had an accurate list, inasmuch as the NAACP was not notified by all the parents who had applied.

POLICE INACTIVE

Although the crosses were set at very prominent locations where they could be seen by the entire community, local law enforcement officers were not observed at any time Sunday evening at the scenes of the burnings. In fact, two of the crosses stood all day Monday. About 2:30 P.M. Monday afternoon NAACP officials took pictures of one of the charred crosses. Some tme later that day the crosses were removed by the police.

If the cross burners had intended to frighten Negro parents, they totally failed. At least one half hour before regular school time on Monday morning every parent who had decided to present her child or children to the principals of the "white" schools did so. The principals refused to register the children and told them to return to the "the old schools." After being refused admittance, all but two of the children returned to their homes and stayed out of school for the remainder of the day.

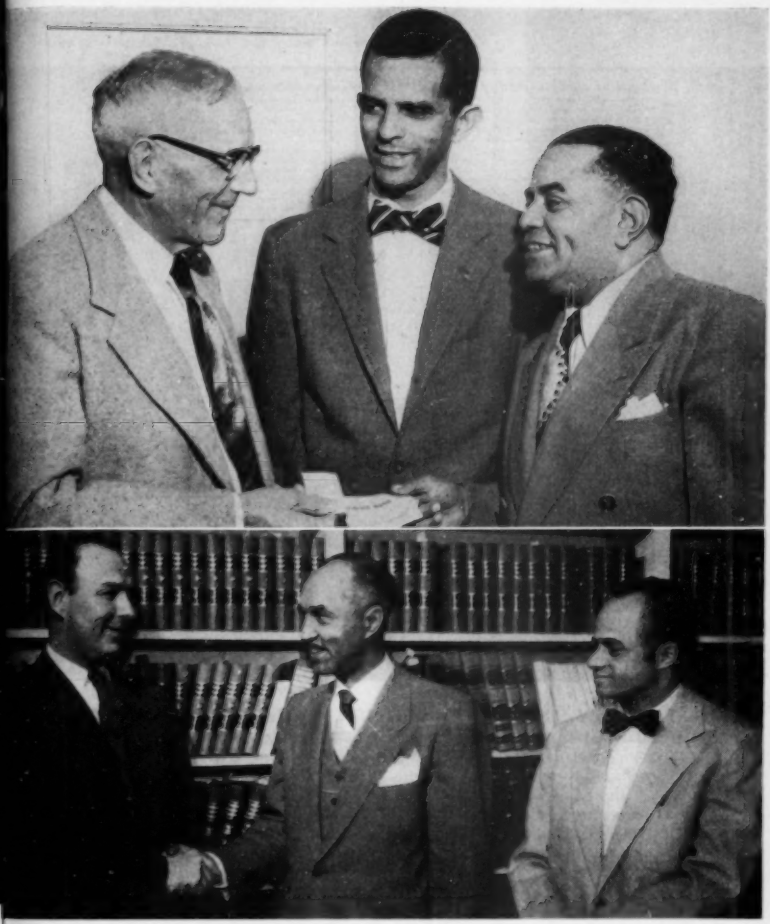
When the children were threatened from slowly driven cars in the vicinity of the all-white schools, they calmly wrote down the license numbers. These were given to the FBI. Later, one number turned out to be that of a car driven by Robert Hogan, who was implicated in the bombing of Dr. Bass' home.

On Monday evening, January 28, rifle shots were fired into the home of a Negro physician, president of the Cairo NAACP branch, and shotgun blasts were fired at the home of the local Negro dentist. Having missed a concentration point the previous night another cross was burned in front of two homes where parents had requested transfers for their children. The last of the crosses was a scrawny three-and-one-half-foot miniature compared to the ten-foot giants burned on the previous night. This cross has never been investigated and is still in the possession of the junior high school girl who removed it.

On Tuesday morning, January 29, the children again went to the all-white schools and were again refused admittance. Although they were told to return to their old schools and re-

(*Continued on page* 262)

BOARD MEMBER BECOMES LIFE MEMBER—*Alfred Baker Lewis (center), a member of the NAACP board of directors, happily accepts his $500 life membership certificate from Walter White, executive secretary, as administrator Roy Wilkins looks on.*



FIRST NAACP LIFE *member in Arizona. Dr. Fred Holmes (left) presents his* $500 *check to Dr. Robert Phillips, president Maricopa county, Arizona, branch, while regional director Franklin Williams (center) smiles approval.* BOTTOM: *Floyd H. Skinner, president Grand Rapids, Mich., branch, congratulates Louis DeLamarter, Jr., (left) executive vice-president Grand Rapids Motor Co., for his racial liberalism. Dr. Wilberforce Plummer, chairman branch legal redress committee, adds his smiles.*

THESE NEWLY ELECTED OFFICERS *and executive committee members of the St. Louis, Mo., branch are (left to right) Mrs. Maggie White, Ernest Calloway, first vice-president; Mrs. Helen Hearn, secretary; Harvey Parham, president; R. R. Freeman, treasurer; Mrs. Stella Price, and Mrs. Kitty Hall. Standing (left to right): James Troupe, Atty. David Grant, John Abram, Mrs. Bessie King, assistant secretary; Bernard Brown, NAACP field secretary; Mrs. Florence McCluskey, Mrs. James Bush, Atty. Charles Oldham, Mrs. Valla Abbington, Atty. Frankie Freeman, Mrs. J. H. Thomas, Mrs. Lillian Reams, Mrs. Vivian McFields, and Harold Garner, second vice-president. Executive committee members not pictured are Leonard Brown, Rev. James Cook, Irvin Dagen, James Gann, Rev. L. L. Haynes, Rev. John Nance, Evelyn Roberts, and Mrs. A. N. Vaughn.*

■ National health insurance would give the Negro financial capacity to pay for good health

Facing the Facts on Negro Health*

By Oscar R. Ewing

I AM very grateful to you for the privilege of being with you tonight at your annual banquet. Other members of your profession have not always demonstrated the hospitality which you are showing me. They have been too concerned over the politics of medicine for that; and I have always been disturbed over the paradox in which so many doctors worry about politics and so many patients worry about medicine. You will not be surprised, I think, to learn that I am going to devote myself tonight to some of the implications of this paradox, particularly as they affect the Negro patients of America.

* Edited speech originally delivered before the annual banquet of the Manhattan Central Medical Society, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, January 16, 1952.

OSCAR R. EWING, *Federal Security Administrator, has been interested in the Negro health problem ever since he took office.*

You probably know that the Federal Security Agency has many broad responsibilities. We administer the social security program, including old-age and survivors insurance, public assistance, and the work of the Children's Bureau. Through the Office of Education, we seek to improve educational conditions in this country—and I may add that our constant goal is to achieve equal educational opportunity for all American children, no matter where they live or who they are. We have the job of enforcing the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act, which we do through the Food and Drug Administration. We conduct an extremely important program, in cooperation with the states, for the vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped. And, of course, we have many responsibilities for the maintenance of the public health, which we do through the long-established and widely respected Public Health Service. All these programs deserve to be better

known and understood by the American public.

HEALTH STATUS

But it seems to me that we ought to pay particular attention to the health status of the Negro in America.

It is a reflection on the rate of our nation's progress that we are compelled to think of the health status of the Negro as being something apart from the health status of the people as a whole. None of us can be proud of the fact that there is a special problem of Negro health, and the only way we can succeed in destroying the differences that are apparent is by discussing them frankly. That is what I propose to do now.

What are the facts?

First of all, on the good side, let us recognize that the health of our people is constantly improving. Through the development of new drugs and new information about ways of treating diseases, through the general improvement of living conditions and diet and environment, and especially through the great advances that have been made in caring for the health of our children, we have lengthened the span of life of the average American — and the progress we have made in this direction has been shared by Negro Americans along with everyone else.

But, alongside these facts, we must place some facts that are not so pleasant to admit. The average life expectancy at birth of a white child is about sixty-eight years. But for a Negro child, the life expectancy is sixty-three years for girls and only a little more than fifty-eight years for boys. True, we have cut down the disparity from fifteen years in 1900 to about eight years today. But we must cut it down until there is no disparity at all, and we should not have to wait half a century before we have done so.

INFANT MORTALITY

And if these figures are shocking, what shall we say of the figures on infant mortality? According to the latest statistics, twenty-nine white babies die for every thousand live births, while forty-seven Negro babies die for every thousand live births. These are shocking discrepancies.

No human being with a conscience can accept such facts calmly. For they are a challenge, not to the liberty of the individual, not to the right of each person to be accepted for what he is, but to the very right to life — the right our Founding Fathers placed first when they staked out the three greatest of human rights: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. What are freedom and happiness if not derivatives of life itself?

Now, there is nothing in the laws of God or man which says that because a human being has a certain amount of pigmentation in his skin he must inexorably be doomed to die earlier than other people. There is nothing in the books — even in your most technical medical books— which says that Negroes are required to be less healthy than other people. Yet the figures of mortality, on disease rates, stare us in the face.

A couple of years ago, the *Journal*

of Negro Education published a very valuable volume of studies of the health status and health education of Negroes in the United States. One of these studies was prepared by Louis I. Dublin, the well-known statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. One of his comments struck me so forcibly when I read it that I copied it down, and I pass it on to you now:

DUBLIN CONCLUSION

Forty years ago, when I began my studies of the vital statistics of the Negro, the situation was discouraging. Then, as even now, there were not authentic data on morbidity and our chief reliance was on mortality figures. The disparity between such mortality figures as were then available for the white and colored population was very marked. In fact, the gulf was so wide that many firmly believed it could not be bridged. Some claimed that the Negro in America was outside of his normal environment; that he could not adapt himself to the rigors of a Northern climate and that he had little or no natural immunity to the diseases prevalent here. A few even went so far as to assert that the excessive mortality made a bright future for the American Negro impossible. Fortunately, there were others who took a more optimistic view of the record, interpreting it rather in the light of temporary differences in environmental and personal hygiene. These, they held, could be corrected through the spread of education, the improvement of living standards and conditions and the development of special health and medical services for the Negro.

Time has definitely confirmed the latter view. The mortality records of the official health agencies have established once and for all the ability of the Negro to respond favorably to all measures for health betterment.

These are very wise words. They are almost a sermon. For they leave to us the moral decision, the political decision—the decision that we will in fact provide those measures of health betterment to which the Negro will be able to respond favorably. That is a decision which goes far beyond the power of any single physician, no matter how great a scientist and healer he may be. We are facing here a problem that involves millions of Americans.

We all know this problem stems from the inequality of life for the American Negro. It stems from the fact that he is too often compelled to accept the most unpleasant, the most hazardous, the least rewarding jobs. It stems from the fact that his income is lower than that of the rest of the population. It stems from the fact that he is too often forced to live in the crowded, unsanitary, depressing slums of America—the slums of parts of Harlem or the slums of the rural South. It stems from the fact that his chances for education are not great enough to allow him to learn how to take care of himself, how to improve himself, how to maintain his health. It stems from the fact that he may too often find himself unable to get satisfactory hospital care—or, in some cases, any hospital care at all. It stems from the fact that we do not have enough doctors to go around, and that where this is the case the Negro patient too often is the one who gets no doctor's care at all. It stems from the fact that the Negro patient is too often unable to pay the high costs of adequate medical and hospital care.

CHANGES NEEDED

It stems from a whole series of fact that can be changed and must be changed.

I would be dishonest if I were not to add right here that many changes have been made. We have made a great deal of progress in America, and the progress of the American Negro in the past twenty years has been close to revolutionary. However, we have not progressed enough. And the advances we have made, great as they are, seem puny by comparison with the advances we must yet make. Our advances of the past serve only to spur us on, because they show us that it is possible to be successful.

Now, one way to lose ground is to be appalled by the enormity of the job. When you realize that this is a battle for life, for survival, for liberty, for happiness, on a thousand fronts, there is the danger of dissipating your energies by trying to cover too many things at the same time. For what we are talking about involves employment, and housing, and discrimination, and education, and opportunity, and economic security, along with health. But let us concentrate on this single front, the health front.

We need more Negro doctors. In New York there is one doctor to every 500 persons. In Mississippi there is one doctor to every 1,500. But in the entire South there is only one Negro doctor for every 5,300 Negroes. And in Mississippi there is only one for every 19,500.

We need more local public health units, to tackle problems in public health right where they occur. If you look at the map of the United States, and pick out those counties which do not have such local health units, you will be pointing time after time to those counties with large Negro popultaions, populations with per capita incomes below a thousand dollars a year. These are the very places least able to provide the vitally needed public health services and mother-and-child care services that could save lives. These are the places where the infant mortality rates are high, and where too many young Negro mothers die in childbirth.

When we consider these facts, the words of President Truman in his State of the Union message take on very intimate significance. He said:

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

I think everybody knows that social insurance and better schools and health services are not frills, but necessities in helping all Americans to be useful and productive citizens, who can contribute their full share in the national effort to protect and advance our way of life.

And then, more specifically, President Truman said:

We urgently need to train more doctors and other health personnel, through aid to medical education. We also urgently need to expand the basic public health services in our home communities — especially in defense areas. The Congress should go ahead with these two measures immediately.

I think these proposals are in the highest national interest. I think they would, if enacted, benefit the country as a whole; and I think they would be especially beneficial to American Negroes, because they would mean longer life and better health.

But in the long run they cannot

be expected to solve the essential problems of the Negro. Recognizing all the other factors that threaten the health of the Negro, let me come right out and say the thing that needs to be said about the one factor that more than any other has a bearing on this problem.

The plain truth is that the average Negro has less than a fair chance for health because he is not a lucrative patient. He is less likely to be able to afford his doctor's bills. He is less likely to be able to afford the hospitals bills. He is less likely to be able to pay for the specialist, the expensive new drugs, the miraculous new methods of therapy.

Medicine is an art and a science, and ideally a way of life; but it is an occupation, too. And I suppose it is only human for a young person who sets out to be a doctor to think in terms of building a practice that will bring him an adequate income. When this thought occurs to him, he is prone to turn away from the people who need him most and instead go in the direction of patients who will pay his bills and give him a good livelihood. I wish this were not the case, but I do not condemn a man for falling into this way of thinking.

INDIVIDUAL PHYSICIAN

We are not going to change the mind of the individual physician and persuade him to set aside his financial concerns in order to go out and help the sick who need him most. There would be no point in trying to do that, and—what is more—I do not think it would be right.

What we have to change is the status of the Negro patient himself. *And we can do it.* The question is merely one of how to do it intelligently, wisely, and successfully.

I think all of you know that the President has for years supported a plan for National health insurance, and that I have taken a very strong position in favor of this plan. I have brought down on my head the maledictions of many spokesmen of the medical profession—though, curiously enough, I do not notice that these violent criticisms come from those doctors whose practice is largely with the weak, the poor, the less fortunate. The Park Avenue specialists are critical; but we do not hear so virulent an attack from those who know, at first hand, the health problems of that part of the people in Harlem who are pitifully underprivileged.

Nevertheless, I think it is important to repeat what I have said many times before. We are not wedded to any particular formula for prepaid health insurance. We are wedded to a bigger idea than that. We are convinced that something must be done to solve the problem of the high costs of good medical and hospital care. If we cannot reduce those costs, then we must figure out some way of making it possible for patients to afford those costs. There may be many ways of doing this. The American Medical Association tells—out of one corner of its mouth—that there is no problem at all, and then—out of the other corner—it tells us that the answer is voluntary insurance. Well, *we* know that there *is* a problem. We also know that voluntary health insurance *has not* succeeded in solving the problem, by a

long shot. And we know, too, that many people are simply not getting the medical care they need, because they cannot afford to pay the premiums on voluntary insurance any more than they can pay the direct cost of doctors' bills and hospital bills. That ten-year difference in life expectancy between Negroes and the population as a whole is evidence of what this fact is costing us in human lives.

BEST PLAN

So we say that *some plan* had to be put forward, and up to now the best plan has been the administration's proposal for national health insurance. All in the world that this thing would do, if it became law, would be to raise a fund, from workers and their employers, to pay the costs of medical and hospital care. We have done this very same thing, through social security, to raise a fund that would give people minimum financial security when they stop working. A similar program can be used to meet the costs of illness.

Let me remind you of the simple details about this plan. It involves the building of an insurance fund by equal contributions from employers and employees — with the employer matching the contribution of one and one-half per cent of wages paid in by his employee. One and a half per cent, that is, of wages up to, say, $3600, $4800 to $6000 a year. For people who are self-employed, the contribution would have to be a little higher, just as is now the case for social security.

Out of the money that is paid in to this fund, the bills of the worker and his family for medical and hospital care, as well as for expensive drugs, specialized treatment, laboratory tests, and so forth, would be paid. Nobody would tell a doctor how to treat his patients, what to do or what not to do. Nobody would tell him which patients he may or may not treat—and nobody would tell a patient which doctor he has to see. There would be, and let me say it clearly once and for all, no interference of any kind in the relationship between the physician and the patient.

You may ask, How will the doctor receive his payment? Well, in a number of ways, which he himself may freely choose. He may receive a fee for each service, that is, so much for a house visit, so much for an office visit, so much for a tonsillectomy, etc. He may receive a specified amount each year for each patient he treats. Or, in a few cases where the population is sparse, he may prefer to receive a regular salary. He may choose any one of these ways of being paid, or any combination of them. All this he negotiates in his own community with a local group of citizens, including representatives of his own profession and other providers of medical services, together with representatives of the general public.

In the same way, the costs of hospital care, of expensive drugs, of X-ray treatments and other special needs, will be met out of the fund.

CHEAP POLITICS

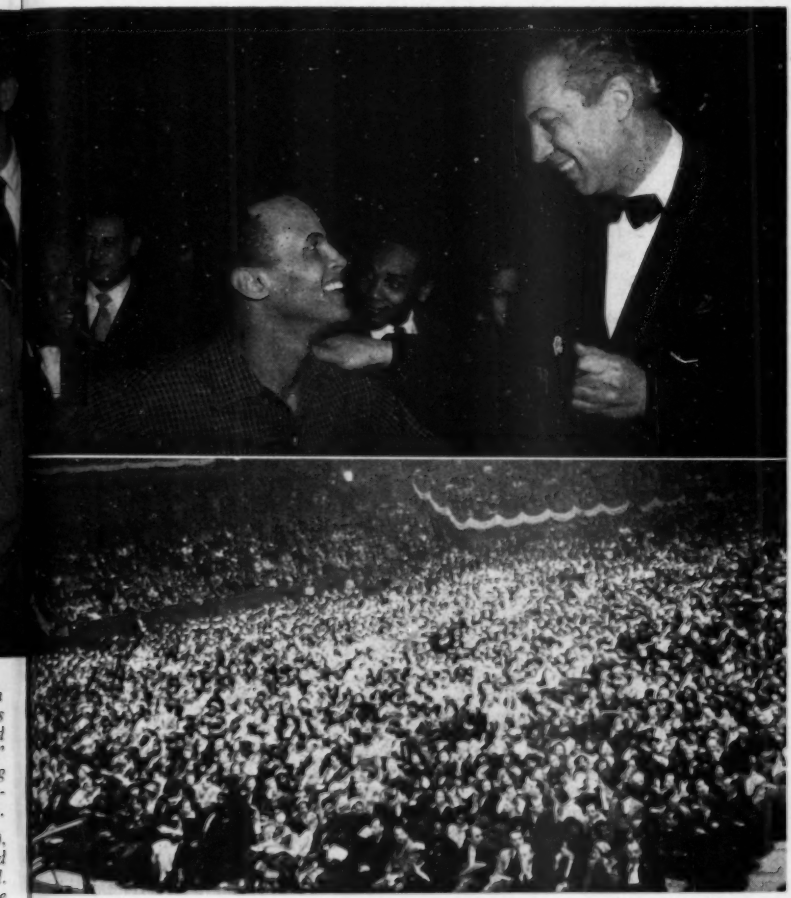
That is the basic plan. It is a simple and practical way of saving up some money when times are good so that

(*Continued on page* 261)

HARRY T. MOORE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, *Brooklyn, N. Y., receives* $1500 *check* (*being received by James Powers, president of the Brooklyn branch*) *from Atty. William Hurst, Jr., proceeds from Harry Moore memorial mass meeting. Seated* (*L to R*): *Mrs. Ursula Brome, Atty. Thomas Jones, Mrs. Gladys Pate, and Selwyn Osborne. Standing: Rev. A. A. Wood, Dr. Paul Selden, Deighton Osborne* (*executive secretary Moore memorial committee*), *Atty. Lewis Flagg, Jr., James A. Powers, Roy Wilkins* (*NAACP administrator*), *Atty. William Hurst., Jr., Sidney Rifkin, Mrs. Carrie Soaries, and Austin Henry.* BOTTOM: *Association officials greet NAACP administrator Roy Wilkins* (*center*) *as he steps from plane at Jacksonville, Fla., to attend south-wide NAACP action meeting called in protest against Moore murder. Kelly Alexander, president of the N. C. state NAACP conference, shakes Mr. Wilkins' hand. At Wilkins' right is Emory Jackson, well-known editor of Birmingham, Ala.*

NAACP's GREAT NIGHT—*Stage and radio star Tallulah Bankhead chats with Alonzo Green while Canada Lee (second from left) and Franklin Williams (right), NAACP west coast regional secretary-counsel, looks on. Miss Bankhead read a poem on brotherhood, and Canada Lee narrated "Toll the Liberty Bell," a dramatic sketch written, produced and directed by Dick Campbell highlighting a number of moving incidents in the Association's relentless battle against discrimination and segregation. The play had a cast of thirty, white and Negro.*

ALTHOUGH "NAACP's GREAT NIGHT", *March 6, grossed about* $50,000, *the net received by the Association will come to about* $22,000 *after required artists fees, musicians fees, rental, advertising, promotions, etc., are deducted. The show, chairmaned by Oscar Hammerstein II and Lena Horne, was a huge success, and it is planned to hold them annually.*



HARRY BELLAFONTE, *singer, chats with* DICK CAMPBELL (*right*), *producer and director of the NAACP Madison Square Garden Show on March 6. Mr. Campbell featured a galaxy of stars, including, among others, Celeste Holm, Muriel Rahn, Camilla Williams, Maria Tallchief, and June Havoc.* BOTTOM: *Part of the 15,000 people who crowded the Garden for "NAACP's Great Night."*

■ **An examination of Mrs. Sampson's credibility as a commentator on the American Negro problem**

In Cloud-Cuckoo Land

By William Worthy

FOR several unpleasant reasons the evening of Tuesday, January 29, 1952, in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, will always be firmly anchored in my mind. It was a night of floating in clouds of propaganda, unreality, and of hearing about my native land as if Utopia had been discovered during the past seven months of my absence, and as if we fifteen million Negroes were on the threshhold of moving into this Utopia.

It was a dishonest and a revolting three hours. For the America which Mrs. Edith Sampson described to the Danish audience in the National Museum Lecture Hall bears only a faint resemblance to the America which I saw as recently as June 12, 1951—a contradictory America of whites and Negroes living together in "scores of communities" under conditions of undeclared warfare.

"Scores of American communities?" The phrase is quoted from a speech by Adlai Stevenson, Governor of Illinois—Mrs. Sampson's home state. The speech was reported in *The New York Times* of January 22, 1952:

"Governor Stevenson of Illinois warned last night that race clashes 'could take place, given a little encouragement, in scores of American communities.'

"The Governor termed 'disturbing' the possibility that 'the incident at Cicero, Illinois' — in which some 6,000 persons rioted against militia, the police and firemen last July over a Negro's attempt to occupy an apartment — might be readily matched elsewhere."

To me it was highly significant that *every* question which the Danes asked Mrs. Sampson was antagonistic to her viewpoint and to her untenable premise that Negroes are marching in a straight and unbroken line to the Kingdom of Full Equality. Those Danes who had visited America and had seen for themselves how Negroes are treated were especially vehement in challenging her claim that the elaborate structure of racial discrimination is collapsing with lightning speed. They were not convinced that such front-page news as mob violence in Illinois, the reign of terror in Florida, or the legal

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WILLIAM WORTHY, *a former staff member of the Congress on Racial Equality, is now studying at the Krogerup Folkeskole, Humlebaek, Denmark.*

murder of Willie McGee are, as Mrs. Sampson deftly implied, "exaggerated stories, spread only by 'the enemies of America'." I say "implied," because not once in the three hours did Mrs. Sampson explicitly mention the subject of race riots, physical aggression against Negroes, or the pall of fear under which millions of Negroes in the South are obliged to live.

Having travelled extensively in 46 of the 48 states and having spent considerable time in the South, I know, first-hand, the obsessive and oppressive feeling of being in quasi-savage areas where a Negro is only five minutes from sudden death if he is "foolish" enough to cross "the color line." That is to say, if he violates the rigid laws and customs requiring racial segregation. Although "only one Negro" was lynched in 1951 — the State Department's proudest boast in this upside-down world! — during those same 365 days hundreds of thousands of other Negroes realized individually and from day to day, that he or she could easily become Lynch Victim No. 2 if he or she should "step out of line."

BARBAROUS SOUTH

If this evaluation of the barbarous South sounds harsh or incredible, the reader should note not only that Negroes continue to leave the South in droves in order to escape this silent terror, but also that almost no Negroes in the North migrate to the South, despite all the hideous problems of poor housing, high tuberculosis rates, and subtler discrimination in northern industrial cities. Historically, human beings have always migrated for one main reason: In the hope and expectation of finding a better life. Negroes are no exception.

Mrs. Sampson created an observable shudder of revulsion in her audience by boasting about the "expensive black cars" and the $100,000 (700,000 Danish Kroner) homes which a few wealthy Negroes own. In a Europe trembling at the possibility of war such irrelevant information about the buying habits of a tiny percentage of Negroes only serves to confirm certain unfavorable impressions which Europeans already have about our country: its priority on materialism and "conspicuous display," its superficiality and lack of culture.

Mrs. Sampson failed to explain (because neither she nor anyone else can explain) how the appointment of a Negro judge improves the living conditions of 14,999,999 other Negroes. Just as certain Danes absorbed a measure of anti-Semitism from the Occupying Nazis whom they despised, so today in America certain Negroes try to imitate all the acquisitive, parasitical, and politically ambitious habits of the whites who keep them in an inferior and humiliating status.

I also believe that Mrs. Sampson's "genuflexion" as she reverently mentioned the names of "good white philanthropists and capitalists" was not well received by her audience in Socialist Denmark. One Dane said to me after the lecture: "Instead of praising those wealthy whites for erecting segregated Negro schools, she ought to be angry because Negro children cannot attend the higher-quality white schools."

And I recalled the nauseating occasion of a luncheon in Nashville, Tennessee, for the supposedly noble purpose of "advancing Negro education." But *no Negroes were present* because the luncheon was deliberately held in an all-white hotel and was attended only by white bankers, business men, ministers and educators! The cynical and anxious theme of the meeting was for God's sake support the Negro schools with generous donations, because this is the only way we can keep Negroes from demanding entrance into our all-white schools.

FOOTNOTE

A footnote on Negro schools. In 1951, when a Danish teacher visited America for six months on invitation of the State Department, obstacles were placed in his path when he insisted on visiting Negro schools in Arlington, Virginia, and the Deep South. (For example, State Department automobiles were unaccountably unavailable on those days to drive him to his destination.) In his report to Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, American Ambassador to Denmark, he stated that the Negro schools which he had seen had "very primitive conditions in every respect."

It will be baffling news to millions of Negroes who work hard for long hours at low pay to learn that racial discrimination in employment has been practically abolished. But thanks to Mrs. Sampson, whom the American Embassy heralds as an "expert on the Negro problem," the Danish people received this hitherto unpublished information before we Negroes were aware of it.

Of course, such a claim is pure fantasy and remote from the world of fact. I can quote from *The New York Times* of September 14, 1950, a speech by Milton P. Webster, vice-president of an AFL trade union and a former member of President Roosevelt's wartime Committee on Fair Employment Practices:

'Discrimination against Negroes in industry is increasing and must be met with aggressiveness and militancy,' Mr. Webster told delegates attending the seventh biennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL.

Mr. Webster scoffed at those who point to Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson and Dr. Ralph Bunche as 'examples of Negro progress,' declaring that they represent only 'isolated incidents.' He said the reason discrimination existed was that 'the people who run this country don't want it stopped.'

'Being white in this country is a fine thing, no doubt about it. Being black is an awful thing. The Negro has the same problems that all other workers have plus the fact that he is black.

'They brought us here in chains (as slaves). We are still in chains, and we must break them ourselves.'

I believe that I have cited enough material from Mrs. Sampson's misleading speech to permit a few conclusions. First by virtue of her semi-official connection with a State Department pre-occupied with fighting Russian propaganda, her mission in Scandinavia is Propaganda (with a capital "P"). She did not come as a social scientist scrupulously committed to the search for truth and objectivity. Nor did she come as a disinterested citizen of good will, humbly seeking to interpret to Scandinavians a sociological problem of dazzling contradictions and irrationality.

Beneath the three hours of verbiage, her speech was defensive in its *"explanation"* of America as the hypocritical Communists are offensive and aggressive in their *attacks* on America. Secondly, the half-truths and embarrassed silences of American-sponsored propaganda plus the half-truths and clever lies of Russian propaganda do not add up to the whole truth of the Negro's plight. The essence of *all* propagandists is that they try to conceal or discount whatever facts and data that do not support their one-track, over-simplified thesis.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS

Finally, from the frequency of the violent incidents which Mrs. Sampson did *not* mention, it should be obvious that we Negroes and whites are not being molded and united into one peaceful, loving, deliriously happy community. After visiting America a few years ago, Jennie Lee, Labor member of the British Parliament and wife of Aneurin Bevan said: "I hate the foul business of a nation pretending to be one nice big family when it is no such thing. No class (and caste) society can be a reputable 'family'."

Without omitting any essential facts or distorting the over-all racial picture, I can truthfully say that life in America for a Negro is "a tale told by an idiot." This is all the clearer to me now as I look back at America from free and equal Denmark. And I recall the remarkably strong and forthright statement by Westbrook Pegler in the *Washington Post* of July 17, 1942. Pegler, a notoriously reactionary columnist for the William Randolph Hearst newspapers, apparently wrote this in an unduplicated moment of honesty:

> If I were a Negro, I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being; I would not, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress, and to move out of the slums; I would not yield to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.

I would be derelict in my responsibilities if I ended without some positive exhortation. Mrs. Sampson, I must concede, was positive. In effect, she told the Danish people: Stop criticizing America. You have an out-dated picture of the race problem. We Negroes are emerging rapidly from the darkness of second-class citizenship into the brilliant sunshine of human brotherhood. Those best-selling books in Danish bookstores by Lillian Smith, Richard Wright, and others are hardly worth reading. ("I myself have never read 'Strange Fruit,'" she informed the surprised audience, who had come out in a snowstorm to hear the "expert" on the Negro problem). Leave us and our good white friends alone and all will be well.

POSITIVE APPEAL

In sharp contrast, my positive appeal would be: "Go to the help of your brother, whether oppressor or oppressed." When asked, centuries ago, how the oppressor could be helped, the Prophet of Islam replied: "Restrain him from proceeding with the oppression."

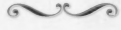
Economically comfortable as a lawyer and safely separated by 3000

miles of Atlantic Ocean from the ears of militant, self-respecting Negroes, Mrs. Sampson may claim (*while in Scandinavia!*) to represent all Negro women. But I know that she does not represent conscientious and frustrated Negro teachers in the over-crowded all-Negro schools in feudalistic Washington. I know that she does not represent all the millions of despairing Negro mothers in 13 southern states who must teach their children to sit in the rear of buses and trains and to meekly stand up when the white passengers overflow into the Negro seats.

I know that she *did* not represent the late Mrs. Harry Moore of Mims, Florida, whose murder on Christmas night, 1951, was not "explained" to the Danish audience. I know that she does not represent the Negro mothers in her own city of Chicago who sadly watch their sons and daughters "graduate" from crime-breeding all-Negro slums into racially segregated prisons or tuberculosis hospitals.

No, the hard-working Negro mothers and all the other forgotten masses of Negroes would join with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in warning Americans that "unless we act soon (to stop violence and discrimination), the corpse in the roadside ditch could very well be not that of some poor black Samuel Shepherd (who was shot to death on November 6, 1951 by a Florida sheriff), but the corpse of Democracy itself."

If in this article I appear to show strong and irrelevant feelings toward the dominant political and economic forces in America, any such "bias" stems directly from a profound distrust of power and authority, *per se.* White Americans have for so long exercised economic and social power over the Negro that they are no longer capable of seeing the corroding and corrupting nature of power. And now, through economic and military aid to other nations, America's power in the world is increasing. So I point again to the spiritual command: "Restrain the oppressor from proceeding with the oppression." Negroes, Europeans and the other peoples of the world must save a race-conscious, dollar-conscious, atom bomb-conscious America *from itself.*



DID YOU KNOW —

That the first American Negro to receive a Ph.D. degree was Edward Bouchet?

Dr. Bouchet received his doctorate in physics from Yale University in 1876, only ten years after the first Ph.D. had been awarded by an American School. He was also the first Negro elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

FURNITURE WORKERS AID NAACP—*A contribution of* $1,250 *to Association from Upholsterers' and Springmakers' Union, Local* 76, *United Furniture Workers of America (CIO) is accepted gratefully by Roy Wilkins (second from right), NAACP administrator. Presenting check (L to R): Benjamin Bergman, president; Stanley Armstrong, recording secretary; Morris Pizer, international president; and Jack Hochstadt, secretary-treasurer.*

MINISTERIAL ALLIANCE *contributes $50 to Columbus, Ohio, NAACP. Pictured (L to R): Mrs. Bessie Banks, treasurer; Mary Patterson, secretary, receiving money; Barbee Durham, executive secretary; and Rev. R. F. Hairston, treasurer Ministerial Alliance.* BOTTOM: *Newly elected president Atlantic City, N. J. NAACP branch, Rev. Theophilus Harper (center), receives gavel from James Morton, retiring president. Rev. John Walters, installing officer, stands at right.*

Looking and Listening . . .

RACE

IN Oklahoma a Japanese is white. What an extraordinary racial transformation, one reminiscent of Hitler's generosity when he made the Nipponese "honorary Aryans."

This eccentric opinion came about this way. It seems that a Japanese was so impressed with some graduates of Langston University he had met in Tokyo that he decided, if he got the opportunity, to enroll in this institution. He later received a scholarship under the foreign students' exchange system and wrote to Governor Johnston Murray of Oklahoma expressing his wish to enter the Negro university. The governor asked his attorney general for a ruling, because Japanese in the state now attend the white public schools. Because Japanese are accepted as "white" for purposes of public education, the state's legist ruled that Japanese are white persons under Oklahoma's segregation laws. Therefore a Japanese could not attend Langston.

This irrationality opens up all sorts of complications and could lead to some very fantastic situations. Oklahoma, for instance, has a law forbidding Negroes and whites to marry each other. What happens then to a Negro GI who returns to Tulsa with his Japanese bride? How do you classify the offspring of a Negro-Japanese union? What percentage of Japanese "blood" is needed to make one officially Japanese? Will Oklahoma eventually have to issue racial cards to Japanese, as the Nazis did to German nationals, as certification of Aryan descent? It is all very sad —or funny.

MRS. ELIZABETH WARING, wife of retired Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, told John H. McCray editor of the Charleston, S. C., *The Lighthouse and Informer*, that she "learned practically all she knows of the 'Negro' issue within the last seven years . . . right here in Charleston." This gives the lie to Charleston talk that she was just another "damnyankee" who came South with "alien racial ideas."

Here, in brief, is what happened, and how:

A native New Englander, of a notable family, she had come up in a section where there was no race issue. Years later, in Detroit, she moved in the motor city's exclusive social group, removed from this kind of issue, and actually landed in Charleston without the slightest interest as to whether there was a racial matter to be worked out,

or for that matter, that one existed.

Directly responsible for her awakening was a prominent Charleston woman, now deceased, who had spent much of her life aiding race relations. Indirectly, a well-known shoe cobbler, whom she was to meet afterwards for the first time, was an influence, working through the first lady, for whom he did work. This cobbler, as it was to develop, is the father of John Fleming, who has been Mr. Waring's court crier since 1948. However, this was hardly a factor in his appointment.

The deceased woman used to get tracts of literature on the subject from the elder Mr. Fleming, who passed some of it along to white customers he thought would appreciate it. Mrs. Waring's landlady was one such person; and she passed over some to be read, but it attracted no attention. It was not until the other woman died that Mrs. Waring 'discovered' she might seriously read some of the literature. She did, and got her first lesson. She began to observe, and to look around, talk around. She met other women—local women, who knew that racism was fashionable though with them, something they'd rather not have. But they were a helpless group, bowed by custom and practice.

And Mrs. Waring made clear to Mr. McCray that these things had taken place before she married Judge Waring.

"One of the first great shocks during her awakening was," she told Mr. McCray, "to have sat in a courtroom in Columbia and seen a jury set free the man who beat out the eyes of Isaac Woodward."

"Judge Waring . . . got his awakening in 1944 when he began doing legal research into the salary differentials and other differences in educational facilities. . . . How the paths of these two people crossed, and they decided to journey the rest of the way together, is not known to anybody but themselves. But that they did is one of the beautiful stories which ought to be a part of the legend and development of the South."

Seventy-one-year-old Judge J. Waties Waring is now retired and has quit his native Charleston to live in New York City.

TAINTED MONEY

PIEDMONT COLLEGE in Atlanta, Georgia, continues to accept grants from George Armstrong's Texas Education Association, an avowedly anti-Negro and anti-Jewish outfit. Three years ago Mr. Armstrong tried to give Jefferson Military College of Natchez, Mississippi, a $50 million endowment on condition that the school limit its enrollment to "white Christians" and proselytize for "white supremacy." But JMC had the decency to refuse. Why Piedmont accepts its $500 monthly grant is not exactly clear, although the chairman of the board suggests it's because of the school's dire financial straits. Chairman A. T. Cline insists that no strings are attached to Mr. Armstrong's grant. This sounds suspiciously like either casuistry or cynicism.

KLAN ARRESTS

MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER'S G-men recently arrested ten Ku Kluxers in Whiteville, North Carolina, for flogging and violating the civil rights of a white man and woman. It is strange with what speedy directness the G-men act

when the rights of white citizens are violated in contrast with their sluggishness where Negroes are concerned. The FBI has still to make arrests in the Moore murder in Florida. Though a few Negroes were involved in the North Carolina floggings, it was, however, the outraging of whites that provoked the arrests.

IMMIGRATION

FOR some strange reason Negroes have shown little excitement over the racist provisions of the McCarran omnibus immigration and nationality bill. Senator McCarran's bill, S. 716, and Representative Francis Walter's similar bill, R. H. 2379, are both designed to codify in one statute American immigration and nationality laws as well as to make basic changes in existing law. For non-whites the most important changes the bills would bring about are in quotas from dependent territories and the Asia-Pacific Triangle.

Section 202(c), which provides that immigrants "born in a colony or other dependent area for which no separate quota has been established . . . shall be chargeable to the quota of the governing country . . . ," up to the limit of 100 a year, is really designed to bar British West Indians. This means that the quota for Jamaica, say, would be subtracted from the quota for Britain, the governing country. Therefore, unless immigrants from Jamaica are given the same non-quota status as nationals of independent countries in the Western Hemisphere, or assigned an independent quota of their own, they are really being discriminated against because of their race.

Section 202(a) (4) and 202(b), referring to the Asia-Pacific Triangle, is more devious. This section does take a step forward when it makes all people eligible for immigration regardless of race, but it retains an element of racial discrimination when it assigns a quota of 100 to the Asia-Pacific Triangle in addition to the separate quota for independent Asiatic nations. This means, say, that a Vietnamese born in France would be chargeable, not to the French quota, but to the quota of the country of his ancestry, Vietnam, or, if no such quota exists, to the Asia-Pacific Triangle quota of 100. This provision is obviously restrictive and is designed to bar non-white Asiatics.

TUNISIA

IT is hard to reconcile French realism and intelligence with France's bankrupt colonial policy in Tunisia where an extremely moderate nationalist party, the Neo-Destour, has been trying to negotiate with the French for a modicum of self-rule. They did not ask for immediate independence. And they were willing for France to continue to look after Tunisia's foreign affairs and military security.

But the French broke off negotiations, arrested the extremely popular Neo-Destourian leader Habib Bourguiba, declared the Neo-Destourian party dissolved, and invoked the state of siege which has been in effect since 1939.

When two Tunisian ministers, Salah Ben Youseff and Mohammed Badra, tried to follow the UN Security Council to New York to press

appeal for Tunisian home rule, the French government canceled their diplomatic passports. But this has not stopped thirteen Asian and African nations from putting the Tunisian question on the UN agenda for discussion as a threat to international peace.

Perhaps the most stupid thing the French did was to "punish"—for "punish" read rapine, rape, and murder—the Tunisian Cap Bon district for merely appealing to UN for the release of Habib Bourguiba.

So far, despite French ineptness, the nationalists are still not pressing for complete independence. "But the present situation cannot last forever; that's a certainty." Paul Reboux wrote that six years ago in *Notre(?) Afrique du Nord.* "Some fine day," he added, "the French will have to pack up and leave, or order their coffins." *La valise . . . ou le cercueil!*

FOREIGN PRESS

THE February issue of Jean-Paul Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes* prints this item about the Moore murder:

"On Christmas day a bomb killed Harry Moore, Florida Negro leader. When Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, undertook an on-the-spot investigation, Governor Fuller Warren of Florida accused him of trying to break up the 'friendly relations existing between whites and Negroes in Florida.'"

ROBERT HAERDTER, one of the editors of *Die Gegenwart* of Frankfurt Am Main, Germany, writes on the American Negro question in the February 15 issue of his magazine. Entitled "Behind God's Back," the article describes the Cicero, Illinois, riot; analyzes the differences between race relations in the North and South, discusses President Truman's civil rights report, *To Secure These Rights;* mentions the NAACP fight against segregation, and refers briefly to FEPC as well as the juristic myth of "separate but equal."

Haerdter's conclusion is that "The United States can no longer sell democracy abroad while it continues at home to refuse equality to Negroes. There is no logical bridge spanning the gap between American deeds and American convictions. There is only a deep and painful confusion of morals . . . behind God's back . . . Solution of the Negro problem may well determine America's rank in the history of humanity."

THE *Journal de Letras* (October, 1951) of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, takes a look at Mário Raul Moraes de Andrade (1893-1945) on the anniversary of his birth. Mário de Andrade, a Paulistano Negro, was one of the most cultivated men of his generation. This brilliant leader of the Brazilian modernist movement, dubbed the "Pope of Futurism," was novelist, poet, sociologist, folklorist, musicologist, and essayist. As a literary critic, he was a spirit of the vanguard.

Paulo Mendes de Almeida gives "A Reminiscence," José Geraldo Vieira explains "The Brazilian Language of Mário de Andrade," Maria de Lourdes Teixeira comments "On

the Poetry of Mário de Andrade," and Eduardo Camargo describes "Mário de Andrade as Brother-in Law."

GUSTAVO E. URRUTIA, brilliant Afro-Cuban journalist and columnist for the socially correct *Diario de la Marina* of Habana, Cuba, examines the "four phases of Cuban racial discrimination" in the February 24 issue of *Bohemia,* a widely read Habana weekly.

There is, he says, (1) passive discrimination. The kind that exists because there is no formal opposition to it. This type of discrimination is part of the Cuban colonial complex. It objects to Negroes living in balconied houses. It permits Negroes and whites to eat together from the same dishes in a public restaurant, but not to share the same barber shop. It allows mixed Negro-white bathing on all public beaches, and interracial marriage, but balks at sharing exclusive residential areas. All this, of course, is ironical and absurd.

Then there is (2) discrimination in the use of public facilities. Exclusion of Negroes from certain public hospitals. Restriction of access to higher education and frequent segregation in the primary schools. Attempts to eliminate Negroes from the officer corps in the armed forces. Restricting the diplomatic corps to whites and near-whites. Barring people with pronounced pigmentation from certain associations and clubs on the grounds that they are exclusive. Most of the establishments guilty of this practice cater to American tourists.

The most complex historically and sociologically is (3) economic discrimination. This type excludes Negroes from the higher and better paid jobs. For instance, it is only recently that "El Encanto," swanky Habana shop, has hired Negro women clerks.

And lastly there is the (4) racial discrimination which springs from the tribunal of one's conscience. This is genuine racial prejudice, amenable neither to law nor force.

As Urrutia has explained elsewhere: [In Cuba] "there exists a kind of unwritten law by which Negroes and whites unite for the needs of public life, and separate for those of private life. This separation is rigorously observed in the social sphere."

IN this same issue (February 24) of *Bohemia,* Baldomero Alvarez Rios summarizes "The Martí Revolution," with emphasis on the important role played by the Negro Juan Gualberto Goméz, one of the commanding figures in the Cuban revolt. It was Juan Gualberto Goméz whom José Martí selected to take his general order for the uprising of Baire on February 24, 1895. Martí wrote the message in New York; Quesada took it to Key West, where he turned it over to Duque Estrada; now the most ticklish and the most dangerous part of the job was up to Goméz. He successfully delivered the message, rolled in a cigar, to the rebels.

Rafael Soto Paz writes in the same issue on the role of General Bartolomé Masó and his assistants, six of whom were Negroes, in the *Shout of Baire.*

Editorials

NEGRO HEALTH

ON page 217 of this issue Mr. Oscar Ewing reminds us that the government is determined to deal realistically with the problem of Negro health. Hitherto, the greatest obstacle to Negro health has been Negro poverty, aggravated, of course, by racial discrimination. This gave him little money for medical care; in fact, not even enough to join many of the voluntary medical group plans. Now the government has a health plan which will give every American a chance, and it is one in which Negroes should be interested.

Though we have made progress in our fight against death and disease, we must not forget that our death rate still exceeds that of the general population. That far too many of us die from tuberculosis, diseases of the heart, and cancer. That our incidence of venereal disease is still too high. And that our infant and maternal mortality rates are mortifying.

Here then is a job of social uplift, but it is only partially the Negro's responsibility. He, alone, has neither the economic resources nor the professional skills. This Mr. Ewing recognizes when he suggests that the problem of American health is the problem of the federal government.

The Crisis agrees with Mr. Ewing when he explains: "We cannot in all respects give Negroes economic equality by one single stroke, but we can, by one single stroke, give them equality with respect to the health services of the nation."

TWO BOMBINGS

THE echoes of the Harry T. Moore bombing at Mims, Florida, on Christmas day have not died before terrorists simultaneously explode two bombs in front of the homes of two Los Angeles, California, citizens. Fortunately, no one was injured.

William Bailey's home was bombed in an attempt to frighten him out of the neighborhood. Mr. Bailey is a science teacher in the Carver Junior High School, a perfectly respectable married man and citizen. What some of his neighbors object to is his color, since Mr. Bailey is a Negro.

Ralph Martinez's home was bombed because he, a white man, was reported to be getting ready to rent his home to a Negro family.

The presence of Mr. Bailey could hardly be an affront to anyone except the racially prejudiced. It is not Mr. Bailey who destroys property values, nor Mr. Martinez who rents to Negroes, but the bigots who plant bombs.

DR. MALAN EMBARRASSED

WHEN the South African Supreme Court invalidated the law placing the Cape Colored on separate electoral rolls, it embarrassed Negrophobic prime minister Dr. Daniel François Malan though it may ultimately

destroy his political career. But Dr. Malan is stubborn. He says he will not abide by the decision. And his obstinacy has already provoked anti-government demonstrations in Johannesburg which may eventually topple the Nationalist government. There has already been a Senate debate on Malan's decision to override the Supreme Court ruling; since Senate seats are about equally divided between the two major parties, Malan's Nationalists, lacking an over-all majority over the United party, may be forced to resign.

But to argue, as many American news commentators have been doing, that the South African Supreme Court has checked *apartheid* or segregation displays ignorance of South Africa. Even if the decision should turn out to be a pivotal political issue, it is certainly no frontal attack upon *apartheid*. What has aroused Malan's enemies is the roughshod manner in which he tramples upon South African constitutional law, for there never were enough Cape Colored on the common rolls to menace white supremacy anyway. And, parenthetically, no one seems to remember that the Natives were taken from the common rolls in 1936. Those were the days when that great liberal General Jan Christian Smuts was running South Africa.

What Americans must never forget is that South Africa has always been segregationist. The lot of Negroes in Mississippi may be bad, but the lot of Natives in the Union is worse. Mississippi Negroes are citizens with access to the ballot and education. In South Africa, however, the Natives enjoy none of these things. Even the English missionary John Philip (he died in 1851), the man primarily responsible for the Cape Colored franchise, was a firm believer in white supremacy and segregation. But he called it "advanced" and "primitive" civilizations.

General Jan Christian Smuts, who ran the Union for years, was also a racial reactionary despite his reputation abroad as a liberal and a statesman.

Dr. Malan, who came to power in 1948, is not only racially reactionary but he is Nazi-minded to boot. He believes in the supremacy of the Afrikander over all other South African whites. In fact, he and his Nationalists believe that Afrikanders are the only true South Africans. Jews, Catholics, and English-speaking citizens are without the pale. If Malan feels this way about non-Afrikander whites, you can easily imagine his contempt for Natives and Colored.

He has passed the Group Areas Act, which lays the basis for a more rigid caste division between whites and non-whites; promulgated a Suppression of Communism Act which gives the minister of justice power to restrict civil liberties; passed a Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Amendment Act banning mixed racial marriages and interracial coition; introduced segregation into the post office and other places; and excluded African workers from the state employment scheme, and tightened up the pass laws.

These are barbarous policies and there can be no mutual trust and harmony between whites and blacks in South Africa until they are repealed.

■ This writer explains why the recent rash of Confederate flag waving is a fad

Confederate Flag-Wavers

By Ruth Danenhower Wilson

ANNIN, the largest flag manufacturer in this country, whose New York City store proclaims itself "Old Glory Corner," in 1951 sold over 1,600,000 Confederate battle flags in small size, a two thousand percent increase from the number sold in 1949. The 40,000 flags sold that year were largely used by the Daughters of the Confederacy to decorate the graves of Revolutionary and Civil War soldiers and sailors on Confederate Memorial Day, and a few were waved by southern college students at football games in the North. Today the Confederate battle flag is being used on radiator caps and by soldiers overseas, although its use at Army posts in Korea has been officially curtailed.

Does this resurgence of the Confederate battle flag mean that southern white youth today is disloyal to the Stars and Stripes or is it a symbol of reactionary Dixiecratism, especially in racial attitudes? Let's look at the record.

The charge of disloyalty to the national flag is easily disposed of. Today, as in former decades, the numbers of southern boys in the volunteer branches of our armed forces is far above their proportion in the population. Nor can the loyal, brave, and efficient records of southern youth in all branches of the armed forces, whether draftees or volunteers, be questioned.

The charge of reaction to Dixiecratic attitudes is disproved in many ways. Integration of Negroes and whites in the Air Force and Navy, Coast Guard and Marine Corps has met with but slight opposition from the southern youth in those services. In the Army opposition comes not so much from youth as from the "high brass." It is the attitude of the white commanding officers rather than of the young men under them that has prevented full integration of the two groups in the Army.

RUTH DANENHOWER WILSON, *author of* Jim Crow Joins Up *(1944), a study of Negroes in the armed forces, has lived in various sections of the South. She now lives in New York City.*

In civil life southern youth has more easily accepted Negroes in trade unions and in colleges than have their elders. Supreme Court decisions that have forced acceptance of Negroes in graduate schools in the South, and their voluntary acceptance by undergraduate schools in some border states, have met more opposition from the older generation as represented by the trustees and college officials; but with little antagonism from the students, who in some cases gave active support. For example, in the fall of 1951 when the president of the University of North Carolina forbade the Negro college students and their friends to share the bleachers with the white students at football games he received petitions from fourteen undergraduate organizations to change the ruling, and accordingly did so.

LEGENDS DYING

Southern young people also happily accept the increasing participation of Negro athletes in both professional and amateur fields.

The reasons for the increasing liberalism of southern youth are not far to seek. Wider travel either in the armed forces or through the South's increased prosperity in the last decade has lessened provincialism and has brought a realization of the international repercussions caused by Negro-white relations in this country.

Most important of all, for liberalism, this generation is the first that has not been brought up by grandparents who could remember the "War Between the States," who has not learned at those grandparents' knees the legend that all their ancestors were once rich and powerful before they were ruined by the war.

Even though the family silverware may have consisted only of a few old teaspoons on which the children had cut their teeth, the myth had grown into magnificent silver services confiscated by the damnyankees just as dear old Uncle Tobey was burying them in the garden (complete with boxwood edgings and gazebos). Of course dear old Uncle Tobey and Aunt Melissa just loved their Old Massa and Missis.

The past generation was never reached by statistics from abolitionist literature showing what large numbers of slaves expressed their attitudes towards their masters by emigrating to Liberia or risking death in slave insurrections or by running away to free states and to Canada.

Past generations were even forbidden to read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and were nurtured on reminiscences from the point of view of the masters' children such as *Two Little Confederates* and *Diddie, Dumps and Tot*. The present generation realizes that such fiction should be judged in the light of Mark Twain's remark: "I'm told that fish-hooks don't hurk the fish but it wasn't a fish that told me so."

BETTER EDUCATION

Not only the lack of grandparents to whom the myth of the ideally happy plantation seemed real, but better education through increased prosperity and the GI Bill of Rights has changed the attitudes of white southern youth today. In colleges of the South, as well as the North, more

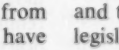
realistic teaching of history and added numbers of courses in sociology and anthropology in which the myth of innately superior or inferior races is exposed are having their effect. Many young southerners have learned how the plantation system itself was sowing the seeds of economic ruin, and how the number of rich planters has been exaggerated.

College students have seen statistics such as those of the Eighth Census of the United States showing that in 1850 the number of planters with more than one hundred slaves was only 1,733. Of these only nine owners had between five hundred and one thousand slaves, while 1,479 had between one hundred and two hundred. In 1950 in the states that afterwards formed the Confederacy the average number of slaves held by one owner ranged from 7.5 percent in Texas to 13.4 percent in Mississippi. Moreover, these statistics include free Negroes who owned slaves and Indians who were slave owners.

In 1860 Choctaws held 2,297 Negro slaves distributed among 385 owners, Chickashaws 917 among 118 owners, and Cherokees 2,507 held by 384 owners. So for all white southerners to be descended from rich planters, the tribes must have increased even more impossibly fast than the mythical descendants of the Mayflower company and in less generations.

The conclusion is inescapable that the waving of the Confederate battle flag is just a fad like carrying foxtails on cars, or the increasing use of skull and cross-bones on flags, T-shirts, caps, and cuff-links. Its only real meaning to servicemen overseas may be a sort of nostalgia, a desire to proclaim the home of that flag. Annin's sales of from 30 to 40 thousand of the battle flags a week in 1951 is now declining. On the other hand, servicemen overseas from the North, East, and West are today writing home to their governors asking for their state flags, and the governors are ordering them from Annin in increasing numbers.

It has been said that in the South today influential people are limited in not being able to change their practices in racial matters without losing their influence. With the influence of the rising generation that is now coming into power it is likely that justice to minority groups will become the norm both in theory and practice. Perhaps it is not too much to expect that this generation may be able to choose as college presidents and trustees and as members of state legislatures and of Congerss representatives who reflects a new liberal South.



"No human race can regard itself as the last word, a pedastalled model to be aped by the rest of mankind."

—José Vasconcelos (1880-), Mexican educator

Good News

Mayor Peirce of New Bedford, Massachusetts, has appointed Mrs. Jane C. Waters to the local school planning committee. She is the first Negro woman in New Bedford to receive this honor.

★ ★ ★

Charles A. Baker was sworn in in February as deputy commissioner of property in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This is a very important municipal post in Philadelphia.

★ ★ ★

Walter P. Harris, Pennsylvania's first and only Negro certified public accountant, has been added to the staff of the City Controller's office, where he will work under deputy controller Robert Leonard. Mr. Harris lives in Philadelphia.

★ ★ ★

The Cleveland district of the Ohio State Nurses Association has admitted its first Negro to membership in the person of nurse Rose Peebles. Her admission is the outcome of a two-year fight waged by the local NAACP, the Community Relations Board, the local Urban League, the *Call and Post*, and other bodies.

★ ★ ★

Jackie Robinson became the first Negro executive in radio when he signed a contract with NBC on February 4. He will broadcast and aid in programming for youth, with emphasis on sports.

★ ★ ★

Janice Kingslow is featured in the February issue of *Pageant* magazine as "white-colored girl" with a ten-page spread of pictures and text on her work as radio and television artist, movie actress, and YMCA executive committee member.

★ ★ ★

Paul Keene, Jr., of Philadelphia, won high honors for his oil painting "The Quartet" at the February exhibition held by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Mr. Keene studied for two years at the Academie Julien in Paris.

★ ★ ★

Kwame Nkrumah became the Gold Coast's first elected prime minister on March 5. Mr. Nkrumah left prison in February 1951 to lead the Gold Coast's first elected government as leader of the Convention People's party. He is a graduate of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

EDUCATION

Virginia School Case: Testimony in the most comprehensive education suit brought thus far by NAACP attorneys was concluded in March in the case seeking admission of Negro children to the previously all-white schools of Prince Edward county, Virginia.

NAACP attorneys, who represented parents of the children fighting to end the segregation, presented an outstanding group of expert witnesses from the fields of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, education, and statistics. On the last afternoon of the five-day trial, the plaintiffs presented four rebuttal witnesses to refute statements made by witnesses for the state. One of these, a statistician gave evidence to demonstrate that at the rate of equalization proposed by the Commonwealth of Virginia, facilities for Negro children could not be brought to a level of those provided white children until 1979.

The defense, for the first time in the history of NAACP education cases, countered expert testimony offered by the NAACP with its own expert witnesses. These witnesses had training and qualifications similar to those offered by the plaintiffs.

Maintaining that segregation in itself constitutes inequality, attorney Oliver W. Hill declared in his closing statement that "there isn't a single city [in Virginia] where Negro children have equal opportunities." Spottswood W. Robinson III, also on the roster of attorneys presenting the plaintiffs' case, noted that for every dollar presently invested for white high school facilities in Virginia, only 18 cents is provided for facilities for Negro high school children.

Assistant special counsel Robert L. Carter, chief counsel in the case, asserted that although the United States Supreme Court has not made a direct ruling on segregation per se, "we think we are entitled to a decree from this court that would enjoin the operation of the segregation laws of Virginia as they apply to the schools."

Witnesses who gave expert testimony for the NAACP included Dr. M. Brewster Smith of the department of psychology, Vassar college; Dr. Kenneth Clark and Dr. Mamie Clark, Northside Center for Child Development; Dr. John J. Brooks, director of the New Lincoln school, New York City; Dr. Isidore Chein, committee on community interrelations, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Elsa Robinson, New York university; Dr. Horace B. English, Ohio State university; and Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the

TRIAL OF WALTER LEE IRVIN (*center*), *surviving defendent in Florida Groveland "rape" case at Ocala, Florida, February* 11-14. *NAACP attorneys* (*L to* R) *are Paul Perkins, Jack Greenberg, Thurgood Marshall, and Alex Akerman.* BOTTOM: *Prosecutor Jess Hunter* (*seated center*) *talks with reporters Richard Parke* (*left*), The New York Times, *Malcolm Johnson* (*standing*) *of the Associated Press, and Mabel Norris Reese* (*only head showing*) *of* Mount Dora Topics, *Florida. The jury announced a verdict of guilty and Judge T. J. Futch promptly sentenced the* 24-*year-old veteran to death. The NAACP is appealing.*

department of sociology, Brooklyn college. Dr. English, Dr. Lee, and Dr. Mamie Clark served as rebuttal witnesses on the last day of the trial.

MISCELLANEOUS

Rape Conviction: The Alabama state conference of NAACP branches regards the sentencing of a 32-year-old white man in Cairo, Alabama, to thirty years in prison with no opportunity for parole, for the rape of a 7-year-old Negro child and a 20-year-old mother, as a victory for justice.

Two other rape cases in the same county, both involving children, are awaiting hearing.

NAACP Garden Show: The first annual "NAACP's Great Night" packed Madison Square Garden, New York City, to the rafters on March 6. A total of $20,000 in cash and pledges was netted by the Association; of this $5,800 was received in cash contributions at the Garden and the rest in pledges.

Rufus W. Smith, NAACP director of fund raising, said that although the star-studded show, which was described by co-chairman Oscar Hammerstein II as "the best shown in town tonight," grossed about $50,000, production costs will cut deep into the proceeds. Specifically mentioned are artists fees (required by theatrical unions), contributions to union welfare funds (also required), musicians' fees, costs for stage hands, Madison Square Garden rental, ushers, technicians, advertising and promotions, decorations, and the like.

There was no denying that the show, which featured many of the top names in show business, was a resounding success. Producer Dick Campbell was enthusiastically acclaimed for putting on a top-flight entertainment. Emcees Steve Allen and Johnny Faulk kept the festivities running smoothly for four hours as they brought onto the great stage such stars as Tallulah Bankhead, Canada Lee, Celeste Holm, The Mariners, Juanita Hall, Camilla Williams, Maria Tallchief, June Havoc, Muriel Rahn, The Hotshots, Barry Gray, Lil Hayes, Howell and Bowser, and a host of others.

The packed house of 15,000 listened in rapt attention as "Toll the Liberty Bell," a dramatic sketch highlighting the NAACP's 43-year record of accomplishment, was unfurled. Written, produced and directed by Dick Campbell, and narrated by Canada Lee, the play, with a cast of thirty, depicted a number of moving incidents that have been an integral part of the Association's relentless battle against discrimination and segregation. At its conclusion, Josh White and Sam Gary presented "Ballad of Harry Moore," written especially for the "Great Night" by Langston Hughes, and set to music by Sammy Heyward.

Mr. Hammerstein, NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White, and West Coast Regional Director Franklin H. Williams, spoke during the intermission. Mr. Williams made an appeal for funds, to which the crowd responded with the $20,000 that was netted.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The SAN DIEGO branch gets out a very lively branch bulletin under the editorship of Gordon Stafford, with the assistance of branch president Rev. T. E. Cobbs and the bulletin committee, consisting of Mrs. Inez Wilson, Rev. M. M. Jefferson, Sherman Smith, and Garfield Johnson.

The southern California area council of NAACP branches sponsored executive secretary Walter White in a huge public meeting in the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 21. Mr. White also addressed the largest interracial audience ever to assemble in northern California when he spoke in the Oakland Arena, in Oakland. He was presented with a 12-foot petition containing 10,000 names of persons protesting the recent wave of terror in Florida and calling upon President Truman to have a federal grand jury convene to investigate the situation.

Delaware: The NEWARK branch developed a varied and interesting program in celebration of Negro history and brotherhood weeks. Mrs. Ryland, Mrs. Owens, Mrs. Hirshfeld, and Mr. Morgan attended the February 5 meeting of the Newark council to investigate the lack of action in the appointment of David Williams to the police force.

Illinois: Thirty-first annual Lincoln-Douglass banquet of the SPRINGFIELD branch was held in the St. Paul's AME church on February 14. The 1952 Webster Plaque, given annually by Dr. and Mrs. D. E. Webster of Springfield, was presented to Rodney England in consideration of his high average at the University of Illinois, where he is a "pre-med" junior, and all-around character development. The plaque was presented to Mr. England by Violet Dumas, his high school Latin teacher.

Iowa: The BURLINGTON branch has given wide publicity to the "Burlington Self-Survey," a community self-survey of its racial problems. The two-year study reveals that Negroes in Burlington, a community of 30,000, despite the lack of open racial conflict, are restricted and limited in their opportunities in every area of community life.

The CEDAR RAPIDS branch has been reorganized after three years of inactivity, with the following newly elected officers: Mrs. Viola Gibson, president; Dr. Waldemar Argrow, first vice-president; Mrs. Emma Turner, second vice-president; Jeanne Walker, secretary; Mrs. Estelle Turner, assistant secretary; Louis Braggs, treasurer; and Earl Carr, youth council advisor. These officers were installed by Rev. Percy Pert, pastor of the Mt. Zion Baptist church, at the Jane Boyd Community House on February 3.

Branch committee chairmen were then appointed by the president, as follows: Mrs. Bridie Carlton, membership; Mrs. Carl Orr, press and publicity; Rev. C. H. Copeland, legal redress and legislation; Beverly Taylor, labor and industry; Mrs. Mabel Warren, education; Mrs. Helen Greer, entertainment; Dr. Marvin Kober, church and community coordination; George Turner, veterans; and Elizabeth Bender, housing.

The branch sponsored special assemblies in three Cedar Rapids high schools during brotherhood week, and Mrs. Gibson was featured over station KCRG in a talk on the NAACP and brotherhood.

Kentucky: New officers of the PADUCAH branch are Curlee Brown, president; L. W. Miller, vice-president; Osceola Dawson, secretary; and C. M. Bolen, treasurer.

Among recent branch activities are the following: placing of 110 carpenters at the Atomic Energy Project; placing of skilled personnel with the McGraw Company; getting better equipment for the Lincoln high school commercial department; investigating the refusal of the local rent control office to hire Mae Hodge because of her color; interesting insurance companies in financing the building and remodeling of Negro homes; and the organizing of a youth council.

The branch has also fought the attempt of Dr. W. B. Luster to have the Kentucky legislature provide facilities for Negro students at the West Kentucky Vocational School equal to those for white students at Paducah junior college. The branch pointed out that education for Negroes in Kentucky is already a big enough "farce" without its being made a bigger one by this jim-crow maneuver.

Massachusetts: In SPRINGFIELD the Jolly Pals Club chose the NAACP as recipient of its second annual purse, amounting to $50. Since the local branch was in the midst of its NAACP Christmas seal drive at the time, the Club suggested that the donation become a part of this fund.

Here is the sequel to the Club contribution: M/Sgt. Leroy Marks, Jr., 1600th Air Traffic Squadron, Westover Air Base, Mass., was present as a guest of the club and he himself took a block of 50 sheets of seals and sold $52 worth. Mr. and Mrs. Winston Jackson sold $75 worth between them; and Mrs. Lettie McCalpine, $40 worth.

REV. PERCY WILLIAMS, *new president of the Chattanooga, Tennessee, NAACP branch.*

Missouri: Annual membership campaign of the JEFFERSON CITY branch began March 1 and will end on April 15. Ten teams of four members each are vying for the prize which goes to the team bringing in the largest number of members.

The case against the school board of Jefferson City for admission of Negro students to the city high school is still pending in the courts. The suit seeks to force the school board to admit Negro students to junior high school instead of forcing them to attend the Washington elementary school, which is not equipped for junior high school work.

Branch officers are Alfred Farrell, president; A. P. Marshall, vice-president; Mrs. Ida Logan, secretary; Gwendolyn McDuffie, assistant secretary; and Charles Robinson, treasurer.

New Jersey: Mayor Ralph Villani of Newark was guest speaker on January 10 at the regular monthly meeting of the NEWARK branch.

On January 14 the branch sponsored a mass meeting in protest against the Groveland killing; on February 6, the branch cooperated in a Trenton rally with the Essex County Council on Civil Rights to raise money to appeal the remaining two Trenton defendants.

New Mexico: Secretary Margretta LeRoy of the ALBUQUERQUE branch report success in their two-year effort to obtain passage of a local anti-discrimination ordinance. The law bars discrimination in public places on the basis of race, creed, ancestry, or color. However, recent reports received in the NAACP national office reveal that representatives of hotel and restaurant owners associations are spearheading a movement for a referendum designed to rescind the anti-discrimination measure.

North Carolina: The ROCKY MOUNT branch celebrated its twelfth anniversary with a mass meeting and banquet in the St. James Baptist church on November 16, with Herman Taylor of Raleigh as guest speaker. The branch sent a $30 donation to the national office for the Ingram and Groveland funds.

The MAYMAN-ENFIELD branch celebrated its second anniversary on November 15 and re-elected Rev. A. A. Burgin to his third term as president.

The SPRING HOPE branch now has a suit pending against the Carolina Trailways Bus Company.

Ohio: Mrs. Pearl Mitchell of the CLEVELAND branch reports that the membership goal for each division this year is 500 members.

Rhode Island: President William Newson of the PROVIDENCE branch reports on NAACP activities in his area, listing the following highlights: organization of a new branch in the towns of Bristol and Plainville, called the Connecticut Valley branch; organization of youth councils in Hartford and Meriden; Norwalk branch float received first prize at International Celebration; four Negro teachers in Waterbury; election of Vasco Hale of Hartford to the national executive board of The Blind Veterans Committee; and the efforts of the Hartford branch to eradicate stereotyped literature from the public schools.

Tennessee: The JOHNSON CITY branch reports the death of Mrs. Christina Knoff, branch secretary.

The following editorial, by Bishop W. Y. Bell of the fifth episcopal district of the CME church, is reprinted from the *Christian Index:*

WHY SUPPORT NAACP?

LAST December the Fourth Episcopal District of the CME church, following through a resolution passed unanimously by our General Board last May, presented five thousand dollars to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. News of that contribution received wide circulation chiefly through the columns of the Negro press, as attested by numerous communications and commendations.

Of course, a contribution of five thousand dollars to NAACP from five annual conferences is news. But how unfortunate it is that it should be news for it is, to say the least, nothing more than should be expected. If Americans, irrespective of race or section, could be made aware of the awesome urgency of the work of the NAACP at this critical moment in history (this word history being employed in its global, and not merely racial or American significance), they would rally eagerly and vigorously to the support of the organization.

The bishop of the Fourth Episcopal

(*Continued on page* 261)

College and School News

Dr. Ruth Isabel Seabury, educational secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was convocation speaker at FISK UNIVERSITY on February 26.

■

A luncheon in honor of the Rev. Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Master, New York City, was held at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH on March 7. Dr. Robinson, who has just returned from a six months' round the world trip, spoke on "The Youth of the World Faces the Future."

■

The UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS has just published a series of letters exchanged between Henry Christophe of Haiti and Thomas Clarkson, English abolitionist. The volume, edited by Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, is called *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson.*

■

Dr. Francis M. Hammond, former head of the philosophy department of SETON HALL UNIVERSITY, N. J., has been appointed assistant director of the National Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

■

The Saint Thomas Aquinas lecture at the MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART, New York City, was delivered on February 28 by Dr. Francis M. Hammond, former head of the philosophy department at Seton Hall.

■

The founder's day address at the Rockefeller Chapel of the UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO was delivered on February 10 by Dr. George A. Singleton, editor of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review.*

Dr. Singleton has recently written a book entitled *The Romance of African Methodism,* which the Exposition Press of New York City is publishing in April.

■

Five new members have been elected to the board of directors of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND. They are John Wesley Dobbs, grand master, Prince Hall Masons of Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Robert Hodes, professor of neurophysiology and experimental neurology, Tulane university school of medicine, New Orleans, La.; Rudolph Moses, professor of English and head of the department of literature and fine arts, Dillard university, New Orleans, La.; Dr. William Obrinsky, assistant professor of pediatrics, Louisiana state university school of medicine, New Orleans, La.; and Frederick Rhodes, M.D., New Orleans, La.

■

The Ohio state board of accountancy has announced that Lincoln Jay Harrison, director of the division of

business and economics at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE has been granted a certificate as a certified public accountant.

■

President Charles H. Wesley gave two lectures in February on Negro history before the history department of Ohio State university.

President Mordecai Johnson of Howard delivered the main address at the twenty-second annual international celebration at Central State, speaking from the subject "The Open Pathway to Peace."

Two Central State ROTC cadets, Oswald Durant and Eugene Wilkins, attended the West Point sesquicentennial.

■

The TEXAS COLLEGE lyceum committee presented 15-year-old Bettye Joanne McAdams of Austin, Texas, in a recital on February 8.

■

New research building of the Carver Foundation at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE was dedicated on February 12, with an address by Dr. Henry Gilman, professor of chemistry at Iowa State college, Dr. Carver's alma mater.

Tuskegee was host to "An Institute of Public Health," with emphasis on rural areas and problems, March 16-19.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY has received a grant of $20,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for scholarships to the School of Library Service. The grant covers a period of five years and will enable the university to offer fourteen scholarships

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in the School of Library Service each year. Four $500 scholarships will be given, and ten $300 scholarships, and they will be awarded on a basis of merit to college graduates who are desirous of earning a master's degree in the field of library service.

The university school of education, under the leadership of Dr. Wesley J. Lyda, has initiated an internship program for students working toward the master of arts degree in the area of guidance and counselling. Approved by the Georgia state department of education, the program requires each interne to spend at least ten hours a week working as a counselor.

Dr. Louis A. Warren of Fort Wayne, Indiana, author of numerous Abraham Lincoln books, opened the spring book review series at the university on March 3. His subject was "Books About Abraham Lincoln." Other reviewers in the series will be Dr. Melvin Kennedy and S. W. Williams.

Roland McKinney, authority on contemporary art and a consultant in American art for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, was the guest speaker on March 30 at the formal opening of the university's eleventh annual exhibition of art by Negro artists.

■

H. S. Ede, former associate with the National Gallery of Art in London, England, gave two illustrated lectures to SPELMAN COLLEGE students on glimpses of world-famous paintings in the Louvre, Paris, and in London's National Gallery of Art.

Mrs. Claudia White Harreld, one of the best known graduates of Spelman and an outstanding figure in social welfare circles in Atlanta, died in Detroit, Mich., on February 26 after an extended illness. Mrs. Harreld was a former teacher at both Spelman and Morehouse.

■

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE has received a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education to provide scholarships for a group of exceptionally able students to be chosen and admitted to the college before reaching 16½ years of age. Morehouse will offer thirty scholarships for the academic year 1952-53 and thirty for the academic year 1953-54. The scholarships will range from $373 to $750, based on the need of the student. The $750 scholarship is designed to cover all expenses, tuition, fees, board, and lodging.

Other schools participating in the program include Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin, Chicago, Louisville, Fisk, Goucher, Lafayette, Shimer, Oberlin, and Utah university.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE dedicated its new million-dollar Edward P. Hurt gymnasium in March. The gymnasium is a crowning achievement in the career of Edward Paulette Hurt, director of athletics at Morgan for twenty-three years.

Dr. Clarence Stephens, head of the department of mathematics, reports the success of the program, initiated last fall, to develop a small group of superior high school graduates into top-flight mathematicians.

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The Alpha Kappa Mu National Honor Society has initiated eight students of BENEDICT COLLEGE into membership. The students are Albert Reid, Ulysses Horne, Myrna Sherard, Betty Joyner, Selma Pickens, Iva Mae Dewitt, Thomas Smith, and Margaret Foster.

The National Advisory Heart Council of the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency has approved a research grant for Bene-

REV. CHARLES TARTER, *pastor of St. Augustine Presbyterian church, Paterson, N. J., received his Ed.D. from Columbia university on January* 16, 1952.

dict in the study of protein deficient diets on salt and water metabolism and kidney functions.

■

The third in a series of five workshops was held at DILLARD UNIVERSITY March 5-8. These conferences are designed to help high school principals utilize the resources within reach.

Santelia Stevens played the leading role of Christina in *Mourning Becomes Electra*, given by the Dillard Players' Guild on March 7-8.

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SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE has been fully approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Thirty-five persons earned averages of 2.50 or higher during the fall quarter at Savannah State to make the dean's list.

■

Among recent events at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY was a poetry reading by Langston Hughes, a concert by the university choir, and an address by W. J. Trent, Jr., executive secretary of the United Negro College Fund.

■

FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE has been approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, according to an announcement of President R. W. Puryear. The college celebrated its sixtieth year during founder's week in April.

LIVINGSTON COLLEGE reports a gift of $76,156.58 from the Board of Bishops of the AME Zion church to help with current expenses.

■

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE reports an enrollment of 643 students in mining education for the second semester, the largest second semester enrollment so far recorded.

Dr. Harry W. Greene, head of the department of education, died on February 18. Funeral services were held in the college chapel on February 21.

The college was host to the midwinter conference of cooperative extension agents February 11-15, with addresses by President John W. Davis and J. O. Knapp.

■

Dr. Edward J. Sparling, president of Roosevelt college, Chicago, was principal speaker at HOWARD UNI-

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VERSITY's annual charter day exercises on March 3 commemorating the 85th anniversary of the founding of the university. Dr. Clarence Holmes, outstanding dentist and civic leader of Denver, Col., and Dr. Thomas Turner, head of the division of science at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., were the recipients of the alumni awards.

A conference on the courts and racial integration in education was held at the university April 16-18 to discuss the problem of racial segregation in American life, especially in education.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY formally opened its university gallery of art on February 22, with a preview of drawings and graphic arts by contemporary American artists. The new gallery was established through the efforts of the department of art and is located on the second floor of the West Campus building.

■

Former Olympic star Jesse Owens was convocation speaker at the tenth annual observance of Men's Day at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.).

■

The second Negro to be admitted to Louisville university medical college is W. W. Jones, Jr., a 1951 graduate of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE.

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Book Reviews

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment. **By Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1951. XV+173 pp. $3.00.**

Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education: An Analytical Study of Intergroup Education in Colleges and Schools in the United States: Functions, Current Expressions, and Improvements. **By Lloyd Allen Cook. Washington: American Council on Education, 1951. XV+271 pp. $3.75.**

Both *Interracial Housing* and *Intergroup Relactions in Teacher Education* are studies dealing with the question of effecting favorable changes in intergroup attitudes. The former is a comparative study of the effects of segregated and interracial arrangements in public housing projects upon the intergroup attitudes of the individuals living in the projects, while the latter is an interpretive summary of conclusions drawn from a series of college projects in intergroup relations.

For their housing study Deutsch and Collins selected two interracial projects in New York, and two segregated projects in Newark, New Jersey. Their interviews with white housewives and children revealed striking differences in the racial attitudes of those who lived in the two different types of projects.

They found that "the likelihood of getting to know people of the other race and having intimate contact with them is considerably greater in the interracial than in the segregated biracial project," and that this situation in turn produces "a *behavioral* change with respect to race relations for many of the white people."

Segregated housing, they found tends to reinforce patterns of avoidance and feelings of prejudice, while the interracial project encourages friendly interracial association. Day to day neighborly contacts and joint participation in project activities make for friendlier interracial relationships and a breakdown in prejudice. Of great interest are the case histories in which individuals described how their attitudes towards Negroes have changed in a favorable direction.

Furthermore, experience in interracial projects resulted in more favorable attitudes towards Negroes in general, and toward other colored groups. Interracial housing then is not only a desirable democratic practise, but becomes an instrument for the creation of better intergroup attitudes. The key role which interracial housing can play is indicated by the fact, pointed out by the authors, that the occupancy pattern in a housing project is of more importance in determining interracial attitudes than religion, education or political attitudes. The importance of seeing that public housing projects are occupied on an integrated basis thus becomes very apparent.

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Lloyd Allen Cook, in his study of *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education* makes at least two siginificant points. In discussing the nature and development of prejudice, he discounts theories attributing prejudice to simple ignorance, or to unpleasant incidents in an individual's experience, or to personality disorders, or to aggression against minorities serving as an outlet of one's frustrations. Rather he views prejudice as "acquired through *normal processes of acculturation.*" In other words a child simply learns the prejudices "resident" in his environment, just as he learns the other aspects of his behavior. Cook recognizes that personal frustrations may often direct the individual to seek an outlet for his aggressions, using minority groups as scapegoats, but feels that prejudices come more often from "passive in-group conditioning." He also notes of course that in a "mass society," such as ours, prejudices "are spread by interest groups for their own advantages."

In the second place, in discussing means and techniques of intergroup education, Cook points out that traditional academic programs, disseminating correct information about intergroup relations and minority groups, are relatively ineffective in bettering attitudes. He emphasizes the importance of what he calls "group-process teaching" in which students attack real life situations in the school or the community, and work them out together. There must be some sense of personal involvement on the part of the individual, rather than a mere passive receiving of factual information.

Both *Interracial Housing* and *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education* are optimistic books, showing that changes can be made in intergroup attitudes, while indicating specific approaches in the areas of housing and schools. More significant is the fact that both books add to the accumulating

evidence which supports the theory that change for the better in intergroup relations is not going to be brought about so much by moral or religious exhortation, or by routine academic instruction, as through participation and involvement in dynamic, real-life situations. Living in an interracial housing project, working in an interracially staffed factory, or working together in an interracial union are going to be far more effective in eliminating prejudice and discrimination in the United States than lectures and Brotherhood Weeks. Both books are significant contributions to our knowledge in the area of intergroup relations.

AUGUST MEIER

AUGUST MEIER *is former secretary of the Newark, N. J., NAACP branch.*

***New Hopes for a Changing World.* By Bertrand Russell. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951. 213pp. $3.00.**

This title is Mr. Russell's febrifuge for a fevered world. What man needs in order to be saved is intelligence, equality, and cooperation. What keeps him an imperfectly socialized beast of prey is, as Mr. Russell sees it, primarily fear. And among the causes of fear are hunger, poverty, and overpopulation. Only when men free themselves of their destructive emotions of guilt and fear will they be ready to live happy lives in a happy world.

Racial antagonism is one of the questions discussed by the author and one which most of the American reviewers ignored. Mr. Russell points out that a stable world goverment is impossible so long as we have race prejudice and race hostility. Russia is politically, he says, "more on the side of the non-whites than of non-Russian whites," and has far "less of white man's insolence than English-speaking people have. . . ."

"The division of the world between the Russian sphere and the American sphere tends to become a division between Russians and non-whites on the one side, and whites who are not Russian on the other. This is not quite the fact at present, but if the cold war continues long enough it is likely to become the fact, at least approximately, unless on the Western side very vigorous measures are taken to win the friendship of the non-whites."

He adds: "The bad relations between white and colored people in the United States . . . do no good to anyone, and if colored people came to be treated as equals everybody would be happier."

He sarcastically reminds whites that their "talk of Negroes being physically repulsive is humbug." He also remarks: "Although Americans do not like to think so, Othello is a Negro; Iago calls him 'the thick-lips.' "

New Hopes for a Changing World displays Mr. Russell's characteristic qualities of lucidity and wit, and his admiration for common sense and the values of contemplation. The book will provoke you to thought, but it is not likely, because of its cold logic, to have much practical influence on a world panting for panaceas.

***Brazil:* Portrait of Half a Continent. Edited by T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Illustrated with 32 Plates hors-texte. VII + 466pp. $3.75.**

The student of Brazil will find the Smith-Merchant volume of immeasurable value; for here are sixteen Brazilian and American experts dealing in a scholarly fashion with all the basic facts in the history, geography, population, culture, economy, institutions, and civilization of the largest country in area, and the second largest in population, in the New World. Each con-

tributor — ten are Brazilian and six American — is an expert in his field.

There is a vast amount of useful and original information in this book that is not ordinarily available in English. There is not one Brazil but many Brazils. Geographically there is Amazonia with its monotonous landscape; the Nordeste with its semiarid climate; the Meio-Norte with its humid bottomlands; the Pantanal with its flood plains, and the familiar Atlantic Seaboard. The country has a mosaic of human types and cultural forms, ranging from the old sugar baronies of the Nordeste, with its highly mixed peoples, through the frontiersmen of Sao Paulo, to the almost exclusively white inhabitants of the South.

Historically Brazil has been colony, kingdom, empire, and republic. "Perhaps, also, Brazil, is a country that has no history, in the classic meaning that its past has been little marked by foreign and civil wars, invasions, illustrious captains, rebellious nobles, and parliamentary struggles," writes Alexander Marchant.

Chapters on rural life and immigrants and their assimilation offer original information. Brazil is still primarily a rural country, and the essential Brazil is to be discovered here rather than in the cities of the Atlantic littoral. Attitude toward immigrants is Latin in that Brazilians do not admit the existence of minorities unless they turn out to be unassimilable. Then the belief is that they ought to go back where they came from.

Useful information is found in the chapters on the family, education, religion and the church, politics and government, and social legislation.

The late Arthur Ramos has an illuminating chapter on the Brazilian Negro. "Today the Negro, including the Negroid types of mulattoes of various gradations," explains Ramos, "is distributed fairly well over Brazil. The Negro predominates along the coast, principally in Maranhao, the Northeast, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro, and radiates into the pastoral and mineral zones of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso. . . . The mulatto predominates in the agricultural areas of the Northeast, Bahia, and the state of Rio de Janeiro, and also in the cities."

He also remarks that some Negroes in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are trying to organize themselves along the "line of Negro groups in the United States." But he believes the endeavor is to a certain extent artificial, and that it is "precipitating a color line to a certain degree." "'White' [in Brazil] is a term indicative of 'caste' as is the expression 'Negro' in the United States."

The book is carefully indexed, with a glossary of Brazilian terms, and a bibliography appended to each chapter.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Lloyd Hall, director of research at the Griffith Laboratories in Chicago, Ill., holds more than 80 United States and foreign patents in the preparation and curing of food products?

★ ★ ★

That Edward L. Harris is a leading American authority on rocket and jet fuels?

BRANCH NEWS

(*Continued from page* 249)

District feels that in supporting NAACP he is, in a conspicuously real and vital sense, supporting a very important segment of the Kingdom of God in the earth. NAACP, he feels, is no longer merely an association for the advancement of COLORED people. It functions for the advancement of PEOPLE universally. Its work is effectively contributive to the security and advancement of America in her moral leadership of the free nations and freedom loving peoples of the earth.

Negatively stated, NAACP failure would mean American failure. On the other hand, NAACP success contributes immeasurably to American success in championing the cause of democracy and freedom in the councils of the nations. NAACP is a typically American organization, fighting valiantly—and, thank God, successfully—for truly American ideals and institutions.

And that is why we support NAACP.

NEGRO HEALTH

(*Continued from page* 222)

a family will not fall into despair when bad luck strikes.

This is the idea that has been criticized as *socialized* medicine. That is cheap politics. It is not socialized medicine, as the critics very well know. It has been criticized as a scheme to dominate the practice of medicine, to interfere in the sacred relationship between the doctor and the patient. That is a demagogue's talk—because it can only be told to people who are not familiar with the provisions of the plan, who do not know that it interferes in no way with this sacred relationship, that it does nothing more than to make *every* sick person *covered* a patient who can afford, because he is insured, to receive adequate medical care and hospital care without falling into the hands of the loan sharks.

No group in this country have a greater need for National Health Insurance than the Negroes. Whether we like it or not, Negroes today suffer an economic inequality which inevitably results in an inequality in the maintenance of their health and their very lives. We cannot in all respects give Negroes economic equality by one single stroke, but we can, by one single stroke, give them equality with respect to the health services of the nation. We can place them on a footing of equality with all other groups insofar as they are sick patients. What I am talking about here is a new kind of equality —the equality of financial capacity to pay for the cost of good health. It is this kind of equality which National Health Insurance would provide. That is merely another evidence of the enlightened self-interest which will, in the long run, do more to achieve equal status for American Negroes than all the pious words and high-flown phrases of libertarianism put together.

STUFF OF LIFE

To the person who knows that he belongs to a group now doomed to live fewer years than his neighbor, to the man who is plagued by ill health because of his race, this is

no mere intellectual exercise. Neither is it a problem of party politics, or of campaign oratory. This is the stuff of life itself. By solving the financial problems of the patients, we can go very far to remove one of the greatest and most shameful inequalities in American life.

I have had no hesitation in speaking frankly to you, a body of civic-minded, responsible physicians. Every day, in your offices, in your examining rooms, in your operating rooms, you see the grim evidence of the inequalities in Negro health. You know as well as I do—or better than I do—that justice and humanity cry out for us to do something, quickly, to eliminate the economic inequality of the Negro patient. The way to do this is through National health insurance. If we fail, in one way or another we shall be party to continuing the irresponsibility that makes possible the dreadful differences in life expectancy between Negroes and white people.

But if we succeed in ending this inequality, then we open up the great prospect of expanding opportunity for all of us, Negro and white, man and woman, rich and poor, to enjoy the full fruits of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

REAR *steps of home of Dr. U. F. Bass, Cairo, Ill., bombed January* 29, 1952.

CAIRO, ILLINOIS

(*Continued from page* 213)

main there until their applications for transfer were processed, all of the children returned home in protest. Again, there were cars in the vicinity of the schools that stopped some of the parents and children to threaten them.

At 11:05 P.M. that night, January 29, a bomb exploded on the rear steps of the home of Dr. U. F. Bass, one of Cairo's Negro physicians. The bomb, believed to have been made of dynamite, was thrown against the back of Dr. Bass' home with the intention of hitting a rear bedroom. It fell instead to the back stairway, where it exploded. The concrete steps were split and the bedroom windows shattered, as was the

rear door. Dr. Bass was thrown out of bed by the explosion; and windows of his neighbors as far as 100 feet away were shattered. The rear bedroom was unoccupied and no one was injured. The Alexander county sheriff and some of his deputies were at the scene of the bombing in a matter of minutes, and it is reported that the local chief of police, although notified immediately, did not come to the scene until the following day.

Within an hour after the bombing the national office of the NAACP notified the FBI in Washington, contacted the governor of Illinois and the state police, and early the following morning there were FBI agents and additional state police in the city. In addition the 44th Division of the Illinois National Guard was alerted.

On Wednesday, January 30, school children found an unexploded dynamite bomb in front of the store of a former president of the Cairo NAACP. That day, all children who had attempted to register in the new schools on the previous days remained at home, since the parents believed they lacked police protection. The parents voted to keep their children home for the remainder of the week.

BOMB THROWER

The next day, Thursday, January 31, Robert Hogan, a local automobile salesman, was arrested and charged with throwing the bomb at Dr. Bass' home. Simultaneously, the school officials transferred three Negro children to the hitherto white schools. Two were entered into grade school and one girl was admitted to the formerly all-white junior high school. While the NAACP was busy considering its next strategy in view of the unacceptable gradualism employed in the processing of transfers, Hogan was confessing his guilt and implicating at least twenty other local men in the bombing and cross burnings.

The show of violence further united the Negro community and crystallized the issue. Several influential persons who had hitherto taken no stand in the school fight now became very out-spoken against jim-crow schools, local school authorities, and other town officials.

The threats, intimidation, the cross burnings, the shootings and the bombing having failed to dampen the determination of the NAACP and the Negro parents, on Thursday, February 7, warrants were issued for the arrests of six local NAACP officials, including the president of the Cairo branch and other members of the executive committee, two parents who had made applications for transfers, and the two national representatives. The warrants charged that the defendants "unlawfully, fraudulently, maliciously, wrongfully, wickedly did conspire and agree together to do an illegal act, injurious to public morals and to the administration of public justice, to-wit: to then and there disturb the orderly conduct of the Cairo Junior High School and to endanger the life and health of certain children of the City of Cairo, County of Alexander, and State of Illinois, by forcing them [the children] by threats and inducements to enter the said Junior High School of the City of Cairo, Illinois, thereby placing the

life and health of said children in jeopardy and danger."

COMMUNITY UNITED

The Negro community rallied immediately to the support of the persons arrested. The Inter-Demoninational Ministerial Alliance of Cairo in a public statement pledged its "moral, physical and financial support in the effect that has been put forth by the Cairo Branch of the NAACP." NAACP branches in the areas surrounding Cairo, southern Illinois and Indiana, northern Kentucky, eastern Missouri and even in Tennessee, came to Cairo in person or telephoned offering bond, and to inquire what they could do to be of assistance.

The bonds of the defendants were set at $1,000 each by the State's Attorney. Hearings in the police magistrate's court were postponed twice and finally dismissed after the Alexander county grand jury had heard evidence and testimony against the NAACP officials and the parents, as well as against the bombers and cross burners. As a compromise, both with the NAACP and those responsible for the violence and demonstrations, on February 18 the grand jury returned no indictments for all.

Unable to resist the opportunity to strike some blow at those who sought to end school segregation, the grand jury, with no word of condemnation for the perpetrators of violence, issued this statement, which sums up the attitude expressed by local officials at all levels:

It is a positive fact that some outside influence has suddenly disrupted the safety and moral conditions of our school children, that there is much evidence that great pressure has been put on our Board of Education, County and City Superintendent of Schools and all teachers, all of whom are very capable of handling any problems pertaining to their business and being fully aware of the laws of segregation, should be allowed to proceed as they interpret the law.

While we have not found where the NAACP has violated the law, according to our interpretation of the testimony received, we feel the representatives of this organization, in the manner they presented their side was handled in such a way that showed arrogance, abusiveness and utter lack of cooperation, which could have very easily led to violence and upheavel, that every effort was made by them to usurp our school system.

We further recommend that the management of our school affairs in Alexander County be allowed to remain in the hands of the taxpayers of Alexander County.

Our reasons for above recommendations stem from the fact that through the entire history of our school system the affairs of same have been satisfactorily handled by elected officers of taxpayers of Alexander County and if left to proper officials any future problems could be amicably settled.

On February 23 more than 100 branch representatives of the Illinois state NAACP conference held an emergency meeting in Springfield to consider the Cairo situation. The conference passed a strongly worded resolution condemning the failure of the Alexander county grand jury to indict local persons involved in the violence and called upon the Illinois state attorney general and the U. S. Attorney General to intervene in what the conference termed "an alarming breakdown in the law en-

forcement machinery of Alexander county."

PRESENT SITUATION

The Negro and white children who have thus far been affected by integration are demonstrating in the classroom that they "are ready." NAACP officials have learned that the white children, from grade school through high school, do not reflect the insensate prejudice and hate of Cairo's officials. Negro children are freely accepted in all classroom and extracurricular activities.

One exception occurred when a small group of white junior and senior high school boys stoned four of the Negro girls and boys who attend the junior high school. Local and state policemen were notified and the latter immediately patroled the area. The next day, the Negro children reported that the stone throwers had been spoken to by their teacher and principal and were warned against any repetition. A second stoning incident brought sharp demands from the Mothers for action. No further incidents have been reported.

Several mothers have gone to the new school to meet the teachers and principals. Many later received notices of P.T.A. meetings.

By March 5, exactly two months after the NAACP began the integration project, lawyers for the Association led an injunction suit in the circuit court of Alexander county on behalf of the Negro children and all other persons similarly situated, naming superintendent Leo C. Schultz, all the members of the Cairo board of education, and county superintendent Lucy T. McPherson as defendants.

The NAACP asks the court to order the school officials to "cease and desist from assigning pupils and excluding pupils on the basis of race or color"; seeks the withholding of state-aid funds by the county superintendent as long as there is segregation and requests the discharge of Leo C. Schultz from his post as Cairo school superintendent.

The suit demonstrated to local officials and to the Cairo community more than anything else could that the NAACP would not be satisfied with the gradual transferring of only seventeen of the original 84 Negro children to the white schools.

The day following the filing of the NAACP sponsored suit at Cairo, the Illinois state attorney general called upon the Alexander county state's attorney to present the evidence involved in the bombing of Dr. Bass' home to another grand jury.

The attorney general said that he had followed with "grave concern" the series of anti-Negro demonstrations in Cairo, including the January 29 bombing of the Negro physician's home. "It is self-evident," he said, "that any person guilty of such a flagrant offense should be prosecuted."

The attorney general then cited what amounts to the NAACP's contention from the beginning: that the situation is due to "reluctance of school officials to follow or enforce the statutory prohibitions against discrimination" in the public schools.

This is the situation in Cairo, Illinois. From now on Negro and white children will learn and play together in what will be, in any event, a much better community.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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Templebar 6-3535

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Telephone: ADams 6149

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